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HE RELIGIOUS
ANGUAGE OF
G.W. BUSH
Juan Stam

WHAT
RECOVERY?
Katrina vanden
Heuvel

OHN KERRY'S
'REAL DEAL'
David Corn

JOHN GRAY'S
ONG, STRANGE
TRIP
Danny Postel

AMERICAN APOCALYPSE

y 'superpower syndrome' is ravaging the world

by ROBERT JAY LIFTON

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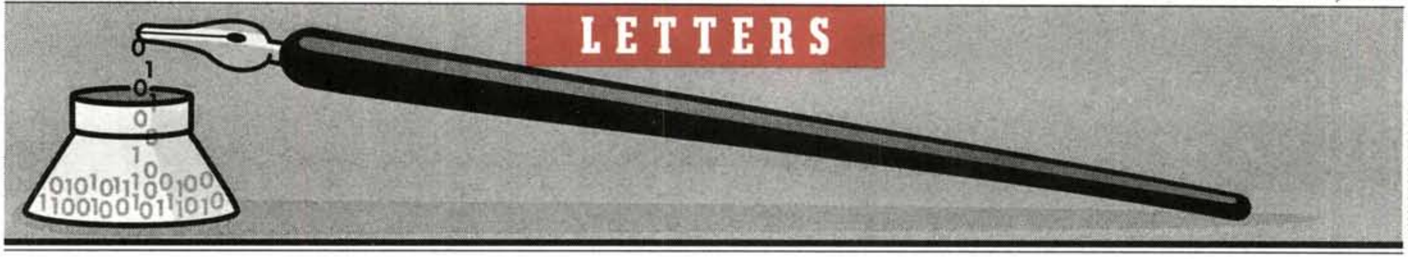

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

ISRAEL: SINGLE, BINATIONAL STATE?

"You folks have sunk to a new low," "faux criticism," "venomous," "extreme bias," "utter fantasy," "protocols of the victims of Zion," "prescription for a bloodbath" are a few of the characterizations of Daniel Lazare's November 3 book review, "The One-State Solution." Readers were "shocked and appalled" and called Lazare a "propagandist." Others were intrigued. One simply stated, "A binational state is not *the answer."* —*The Editors*

Hamden, Conn.

■ Daniel Lazare's "The One-State Solution" raises an issue that has lately attracted considerable attention in liberal and left circles in the United States and Israel. As a longtime supporter of American Jewish peace organizations in sympathy with the Israeli peace camp, I offer a view contrary to Lazare's one-state solution.

Despite the strong nationalistic feelings in the Israeli and Palestinian communities, there are in both sizable groups that already accept the two-state solution, often expressed in the formula "two states for two peoples with a single capital in Jerusalem." Thus the two-state solution has already gained a certain standing with many people in Israel/Palestine, whereas the one- or single-state solution has not. To introduce the idea of the single binational state now, when the hostility between Israelis and Palestinians is so sharp and embittered, is a distraction from the struggle for what is possible. Instead there would be a different struggle for an ostensibly more "ideal solution" whose outcome is most likely doomed from the start.

One of Israel's most internationalist-minded peace activists, Uri Avnery, recently offered a cogent critique of the binational, single-state idea, arguing that neither Israelis, still haunted by the Holocaust, nor Palestinians, craving a political independence long denied them, are "ready to live together as supra-national citizens." Two states, he writes, "are needed for two peoples. This will direct the national feelings of the two peoples into reasonable, constructive channels [and make] a genuine reconciliation possible." As Avnery also pointed out, Israeli Jews are likely to dominate a single state, condemning Palestinians to second-class status as a reserve labor force. Far from solving the crisis, a future binational state in all of Palestine will open up a new can of worms by continuing the present ethnic conflict over a wider territory. Would it really not be better to work for a two-state solution that would have all or most of the Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza removed back to Israel proper so as to allow a viable, contiguous state for the Palestinians alongside the Israeli state? To quote Avnery again: "Perhaps a later generation will one day decide to live in one joint state. But today the propaganda for this utopia diverts attention from the practical, immediate objective, at a time when the whole world has accepted the idea of 'two states for two peoples.'" SID RESNICK
Advisory board, Jewish Currents *magazine*

Brooklyn, NY

■ Call me a liberal nationalist. Israel has a lot of problems, not least of which is the need to withdraw to the original 1948 borders. But Daniel Lazare's proposal that the Jews, who make up approximately 80 percent of the population within Israel's original borders, give up their state to live as a minority in a Palestinian state, which by Lazare's own admission is what the so-called one-state solution ultimately means, is more than merely utopian: It is disingenuous. The real reason some leftist intellectuals and pro-Palestinian partisans now favor a binational state is that it may represent the best chance for the destruction of the Jewish state, which many now understand cannot be achieved by military means or terrorism. DAVID RAWSON

Salt Point, NY

■ Although I have been writing "brave" letters to my local paper on behalf of Palestinian justice, I have never been able to fully question Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state—even to myself. Daniel Lazare's fine essay makes me realize how brainwashed I have been—and I consider myself an independent thinker. Yet from the time I first read the great theologian Martin Buber, I realized that if his desire for coexistence with the Palestinians had not been considered "unrealistic," the Middle East could be a different place today. I agree with Lazare except for his concluding thought that intelligent people find it logical to "throw in their lot" with the madman Sharon. Dumping him would be the first step in breaking out of their "ideological cage." JULIE ADAMS

LAZARE REPLIES

New York City

■ As Sid Resnick sees it, the solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is simple. The two sides heartily dislike one another. Each wants to live in its own separate state. Since this is just about the only thing they can agree on, therefore, separate states it will have to be. Anything else would be "a distraction from the struggle for what is possible."

But who decides what is possible and what is not? As things stand now, it is impossible to imagine a two-state solution that did not lock in the current power imbalance between the two sides. Israel has made it clear that it will not tolerate a Palestinian state that in any way poses a threat to its security, and that the only state it will tolerate is a truncated, disarmed bantustan crisscrossed by Israeli patrols and dotted with Israeli checkpoints. Since it has the military clout (not to mention the endless backing of the United States), Israel will undoubtedly get its way should such a "settlement" come to pass. Palestinians would have to put up with the sort of daily humiliation that no other nation would tolerate for a moment—or else be accused of busting the peace. Is this the art of the possible that Resnick has in mind?

The two-state approach is not evenhanded but structurally biased. Yet the real problem goes even deeper: Rather than challenging Zionism, it accepts it as a given and in fact seeks to replicate it by creating two ethnically driven states where currently there is only one. My review argued that Zionism is bad not only for Palestinians but for Jews. As an increasingly aggressive and paranoid form of nationalism, it strengthens the most backward aspects of Jewish culture while undermining all those free-thinking, forward-looking elements that have distinguished it in the modern era. The two-state approach leaves this issue unaddressed. It is also silent on the question of the 1 million Palestinians who now reside within Israel's pre-1967 borders. In an explicitly Jewish state, they will never be more than second-class citizens. Yet as far as the two-state solution is concerned, this is an internal affair and of no relevance to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. National sovereignty, the principle underlying the two-state approach, requires that the Palestinians not interfere in their neighbor's business by linking their cause with that of their fellow Arabs (although we can all rest assured that Israel will not hesitate to interfere in its neighbor's business by demanding safeguards for Jews who find themselves within Palestinian boundaries).

People like Resnick should be careful what they wish for. A two-state solution, should one ever be instituted, might very well be even worse than the status quo. Still, I couldn't help but be amused by his paraphrase of Uri Avnery to the effect that "Israeli Jews are likely to dominate a single state, condemning Palestinians to second-class status as a reserve labor force." Zionists complain that Jews would soon find themselves swamped in a binational state because Palestinians supposedly breed like rabbits, but here is Resnick informing us that it is the Palestinians who should be worried because Israeli Jews, with their extensive experience in parliamentary politics, will soon wind up in control.

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EDITORIALS

The AIDS Challenge

This World AIDS Day we were greeted by new, more accurate data from the World Health Organization (WHO) confirming the astonishing scope of the global epidemic: Some 40 million are now infected, with 5 million new infections and 3 million deaths in 2003 alone. AIDS is the greatest health crisis in human history—it has long since dwarfed the black plague—and it threatens to become a profound political and economic crisis as well. As Colin Powell said to mark the day, "AIDS can lay waste to whole countries and destabilize entire regions of the world." Yet within living memory for most of us, AIDS was no more than a small outbreak affecting a few dozen gay men in Los Angeles and New York.

The containment of SARS shows what is possible. By contrast, the AIDS epidemic became what it is today because of a criminal failure of political will. Home to the first identified cases, with enormous resources at its disposal, the United States had a special role to play in halting AIDS while it was still manageable. But because the dying were primarily gay men and drug users, Ronald Reagan wasted most of his presidency without publicly acknowledging the disease. By the time he finally did, in 1987, AIDS had gone global. When antiapartheid leader Thabo Mbeki became president of South Africa, the destructive force of AIDS there was unmistakable; but he, too, dithered away precious years in denial, blocking the efforts of activists to make medicines available. Until recently, the Chinese government responded to its emerging AIDS crisis by jailing those who dared to speak the truth about the nation's rising number of infections.

But the tide is beginning to turn. Thailand and Brazil have become models within the developing world, the former for its energetic campaign of condom promotion, the latter for its aggressive use of discounted and generic drugs to treat its entire AIDS population. China recently abrogated its own obscenity laws to run television ads about condom use and launched a pilot program to treat impoverished people with AIDS. South Africa has begun implementing a national plan to provide HIV medicines as widely as it can afford. India has announced its first large-scale drug treatment program, an effort to treat some 100,000 of its more than 4 million infected. Former President Clinton has just brokered a deal under which four drug companies will reduce the price of AIDS drugs to poor countries. And with George Bush's $2.4 billion global AIDS bill, now awaiting a vote as part of Congress's omnibus spending package, the United States is finally devoting significant resources to the global crisis, a welcome step that would nearly double current aid levels and could make a significant contribution to the WHO's goal of treating 3 million impoverished people with AIDS by 2005.

Yet Bush and Congressional Republicans have seriously compromised the bill's potential through their allegiance to corporate interests, social conservatives and a go-it-alone foreign policy. A third of the bill's prevention dollars are tagged for abstinence-only messages, which forbid the mention of condoms, an indispensable tool wherever rates of infection have been reduced. The money channeled through USAID may not be spent on syringe exchange, a proven strategy for reducing the drug-injection infections that now drive the epidemic in Russia and elsewhere. Churches and missionary operations will receive special consideration in the awarding of grants, while family planning networks, the main source of community healthcare in much of the developing world and the best positioned to deliver HIV care, have been forced to shutter clinics under Bush's 2001 global gag rule, which ended aid to outfits that mention abortion as an option for women with unplanned pregnancies. Many of the bill's treatment dollars will be wasted because the Administration continues to support restrictions on the production and export of cheap, generic HIV medications. And the bill continues to starve the UN's

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Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria in favor of unilateral aid that can be used for political ends—much of it bound by restrictive "buy American" provisions.

Global AIDS experts estimate that $5.4 billion a year is needed from the United States to do our part to prevent and treat HIV worldwide. Bush and the GOP-led Congress must ante up all of the $3 billion they green-lighted in May. To make that money count, Congress should send the bulk of it through the UN Global Fund and excise dangerous abstinence-only provisions. For his part, Bush must embrace the export of generic HIV medicines to nations hard hit by AIDS, back the cancellation of debt payments that cripple those nations' health services and openly oppose the Vatican's war on condoms. After twenty-two years and 30 million dead, real AIDS leadership requires taking political risks.

COMMENT

What Recovery?

Third-quarter GDP grew by 8.2 percent, October unemployment dropped to 6 percent, manufacturing orders are soaring, the stock market is up—as are profits, the value of stock options and CEO salaries. The President boasts that his tax cuts are working and we're on the right track. But is it time to celebrate?

Before boasting too loudly, shouldn't the Bush Administration pay attention to what Robert Borosage of the Campaign for America's Future has called "economics for real people"? More than 3 million private-sector jobs have been lost since Bush took office. Nine million people are out of work, wages and salaries are stagnant or down, healthcare costs have increased to staggering double-digit rates, retirement savings have been ravaged by the stock-market meltdown, school budgets are taking severe hits, tuition at public universities is soaring and personal bankruptcies and debt are at an all-time high.

Headlines like the *New York Times*'s BLOOM IS ON THE ECONOMY, or the *Washington Post*'s TOUGH TIMES OVER? seem foolish, even meanspirited, when families, communities and whole states are struggling to survive. Consider that in Bush's home state of Texas, according to the *Houston Chronicle*, 54,000 children have been dropped from the federal-state health insurance program because of budget cuts. Texas and other states are also cutting back on subsidies for healthcare, further increasing the number of people with no coverage—now conservatively estimated at 43 million, with the number rapidly increasing. And paying for health insurance is becoming a problem for more than just people living on low or fixed incomes, with many hospitals and neighborhood clinics saying that middle-class people are now joining the poor in seeking their care.

More than 12 million American children live in poverty, and indeed, the United States has the worst child-poverty rate of all the industrialized countries. Last year alone, another 1.7 million Americans slipped below the poverty line, bringing the total to 34.6 million—one in eight of the population—up from 31.6 million in 2000.

And as Trudy Lieberman reported in our pages this past July, the ranks of the hungry are also increasing. About 33 million are now considered "food insecure" (they literally do not know where their next meal is coming from). Hunger is epidemic in Ohio, which has lost 1 in 7 manufacturing jobs since Bush won there in the 2000 election. According to the *Guardian*, 2 million of the state's 11 million people used food charities last year, an increase of more than 18 percent from 2001.

Economic realities on Main Street, not Wall Street, haven't stopped the White House from trumpeting "mission accomplished" when it comes to our supposed economic recovery. Nor has it stopped the Administration's hucksters at the Heritage Foundation from using faulty numbers to "prove" that Bush's tax cuts are working. But according to the Center for American Progress, the White House Council of Economic Advisers projected that the most recent round of tax cuts would lead to an economy that produces 306,000 jobs a month. That means that even in the past two months of purportedly "strong economic growth," which produced about 125,000 jobs per month, the economy has produced around 180,000 fewer jobs than the White House promised. A report by the center notes that just to keep pace with population growth, the economy would have to produce 140,000 jobs per month. The real "bottom line," taking into account the 3.4 percent gain in population since March 2001, shows that the economy is 6.9 million jobs short of where it would be if payroll levels had remained steady. And, according to Treasury Secretary John Snow's own projection, Bush will end his term with the worst jobs record since Herbert Hoover in the Great Depression.

"The economic policies of the Bush Administration," economist Jeff Madrick observes, "have been about as crude and destructive a cocktail of stimulants—lavish income and estate tax cuts for upper-income Americans, elimination of taxes on dividends, stepped-up military and homeland security spending—as we have ever seen. The result is short-term growth and long-term damage...the administration's policies will weaken the economy over time, fall particularly harshly on its working middle- and low-income citizens, and fail to prepare the nation for a century of far more intense global competition."

"The test of our progress," said Franklin Roosevelt, "is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little." But

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In Fact . . .

BUSH'S TURKEY DAY

■ The US media had nary a harsh word to say about the President's Thanksgiving flight to Iraq. The foreign press was less obeisant. Some prizewinning comments: *Best Headline*: "The Turkey Has Landed"—*Independent* (London). *Runners Up*: "Electoral Raid on Baghdad"—*Libération* (Paris); "I came, I saw nothing, but I will conquer"—*An-Nahar* (Beirut). *Best Capsule Descriptions*: "one of the most audacious publicity coups in White House history"—*The Times* (London); "a publicity stunt which will not solve the problem of Iraq"—*El Mundo* (Madrid); "opens the presidential election season"—*Al-Mustaqbal* (Beirut); "a Hollywood-style stunt"—*La Repubblica* (Rome).

GREEN CITY BY THE BAY?

■ Kevin McCarthy writes: Matt Gonzalez, San Francisco's Green candidate for mayor, is shaking things up in a city long run by Democrats. Gonzalez, president of San Francisco's Board of Supervisors and a former Democrat, has invigorated a progressive coalition of artists and community activists in a grassroots effort to defeat the well-connected, well-funded and wealthy Democrat, Gavin Newsom. Gonzalez, an advocate for tenants' rights and the sponsor of the recently passed initiative to raise San Francisco's minimum wage to $8.50 an hour, has called the race an "ideological battle" against an opponent who "always favors the money interests." Though outspent more than 13-to-1 by Newsom, Gonzalez's campaign has gained steam through small-scale neighborhood "house parties" and cultural events to raise money and mobilize volunteers. Recent polls show Gonzalez with a slight edge. Such high-profile Dems as Supervisor Tom Ammiano, who finished fourth in the general election, former Mayor Art Agnos and actor Martin Sheen have endorsed Gonzalez, defying pressure from the party establishment. Gonzalez may be buoyed further by Green Party activists who, reportedly, will be arriving by the busload to volunteer in the final week of the campaign. But with Newsom's high-powered connections and fundraising prowess, Gonzalez and the Greens face an uphill battle (for more, see www.thenation.com).

REMEMBERING JOHN PATRICK HUNTER

■ John Nichols writes: In the summer of 1951, John Patrick Hunter, a reporter for the *Capital Times* in Madison, Wisconsin, was stuck for a Fourth of July feature story. Then he typed the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, six amendments from the Constitution's Bill of Rights and the Fifteenth Amendment giving ex-slaves the right to vote into the form of a petition and headed to a park where families were celebrating the Fourth. Of the 112 people he asked to sign, twenty accused him of being a Communist. Many more agreed with the sentiments expressed but were afraid that signing the document might get them in trouble with Senator Joe McCarthy, who said signers of petitions for civil rights, civil liberties or economic justice were either active Communists or fellow travelers. Only one man recognized the historic words and signed the petition. Hunter's petition drive became a national sensation. *Time*, the *Washington Post* and, of course, *The Nation* cited it as evidence of the damage done by McCarthyism to the democratic discourse. Until his death on November 26, at age 87, Hunter maintained that it was the job of journalists to defend democracy and the liberties that underpin it. He despised the Patriot Act, the internment of immigrants and other assaults on liberty by John Ashcroft and his ilk in the aftermath of the 9/11 attack (for more see www.thenation.com).

does this current President care that there are tens of millions in this country, many of them children, who have too little? And if Bush does care, is it conceivable that he believes the best way to feed, clothe, educate and care for them is through tax cuts that add to the abundance of the superrich? We may no longer be the country that Roosevelt saw as one-third "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," but this holiday season Bush's boast that America is on the right track rings hollow. KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

Can Kerry Get Real?

ELECTION MATTERS

If a presidential candidate is truly the Real Deal, does he have to repeatedly pronounce himself the Real Deal?

That's the dilemma confronting Senator John Forbes Kerry, who at the start of the pre-primary season was tagged the front-runner among the Democratic contenders. On paper, he looked real. He's a Vietnam War hero who protested that war. He's mostly in sync with Democratic primary voters; he's a liberal who has campaigned fiercely against Bush's environmental rollbacks and his tilted-toward-the-rich tax cuts (though he's also a free trader and once raised questions about affirmative action, while supporting it). He's devoted years of thought and action to foreign policy, and in decades past has courageously crusaded against national security corruption, including the CIA's connection to *contra* supporters involved with drug dealing. He's a skilled fundraiser (who has long urged campaign finance reform). He is tall, has good hair and presidential initials. But Howard Dean, a nobody governor from Vermont, zoomed past him in the pre-voting indicators: money, poll results, volunteers and buzz. Consequently, much of the media attention devoted to Kerry has focused on the question, What went wrong? The infighting within his bloated campaign attracted as much, if not more, ink and airtime than his policy ideas. And the one policy move that earned notice has been a drag on his campaign. His vote last year to grant George W. Bush the authority to invade Iraq—which Kerry cast after raising objections to Bush's unilateralism—was difficult for him to explain succinctly and alienated him from antiwar Democrats who might otherwise have been his natural base. Kerry was the Default Democrat—good credentials, a central-casting nominee—but Dean's passion, evidenced by his antiwar message, trumped Kerry's less showy assets—and Representative Dick Gephardt's passionate embrace of labor issues did the same in the key state of Iowa.

Which brings us—or John Kerry—to the Real Deal. In the aftermath of a late-in-the-game staff shake-up, Kerry began pitching himself as the "Real Deal" candidate who could undo Bush's "raw deal," which favors "powerful interests." So when the Senate passed the Medicare bill, Kerry complained, "By caving in to the special interests, the Senate has given our seniors a raw deal." He called for a "a real world, affordable" prescription drug benefit that would be "a real deal for American seniors." In New Hampshire, he unveiled a "Real Deal" agenda he would move to enact in the first 100 days of a Kerry presidency. That list includes reinstating a five-year ban on lobbying for ex–government officials; offering a "realistic" plan that makes healthcare a right for every American; reversing Bush's assault on the environment; requiring mandatory national service for high school kids; repealing the Bush tax cuts for the wealthy; renouncing Bush's policy of pre-emptive war. Kerry promoted his grand scheme with the "Real Deal" bus tour and pledged to make "the Real Deal a reality."

The problem: Kerry is trying too hard to be "real" (riding a motorcycle on to Jay Leno's *Tonight* set; shooting at pheasants in Iowa). It's an obvious reaction to the criticism that Kerry, not known for exciting the voters, has yet to present an inspiring message or persona to fire up grassroots Democrats (particularly those in New Hampshire, right next door to his home state of Massachusetts). And his Real Deal smacks of the handiwork of Bob Shrum, the master political consultant/guru who often encourages his candidates—like Al Gore in 2000—to push us-versus-them themes. Although Kerry has adopted us-against-them stands over the years, he has not developed a reputation as a populist. Reaching for that mantle now seems, well, a reach—more a calculation than an affirmation.

When he was the presumed leader of the pack, Kerry failed to harness the mad-as-hell energy of many Democrats—fueled in large part by Bush's adventuring in Iraq. Now he's belatedly trying to collect some of it with a stab at populism. But long ago he blew a chance by straddling the war issue—opposing going to war without a multilateral coalition yet empowering Bush to do so. Kerry's number-one credential was foreign policy experience and gravitas, yet he ended up with a less-than-clear message on

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CALVIN TRILLIN

ONE WAY GEORGE BUSH'S SURPRISE VISIT TO BAGHDAD (SORT OF) MAY HAVE COME ABOUT

Supreme Commander Rove, despite his power,
Watched, helpless, as his finest stunt went sour.
Off San Diego, he'd arranged, with glee
A perfect picture, Victory at Sea—
The flight suit and the banner all just right,
The ship turned so the city's out of sight.
Air Guardsman Bush, responding to those greetings,
Made one forget he'd missed a year of meetings.
A poster shot! The candidate's in clover—
Or would have been had Bush's war been over.
If he can't stanch the stream of GI dead,
The Democrats may use that shot instead.
Supreme Commander Rove knew he must seek a
Replacement shot. And then he cried, "Eureka!"

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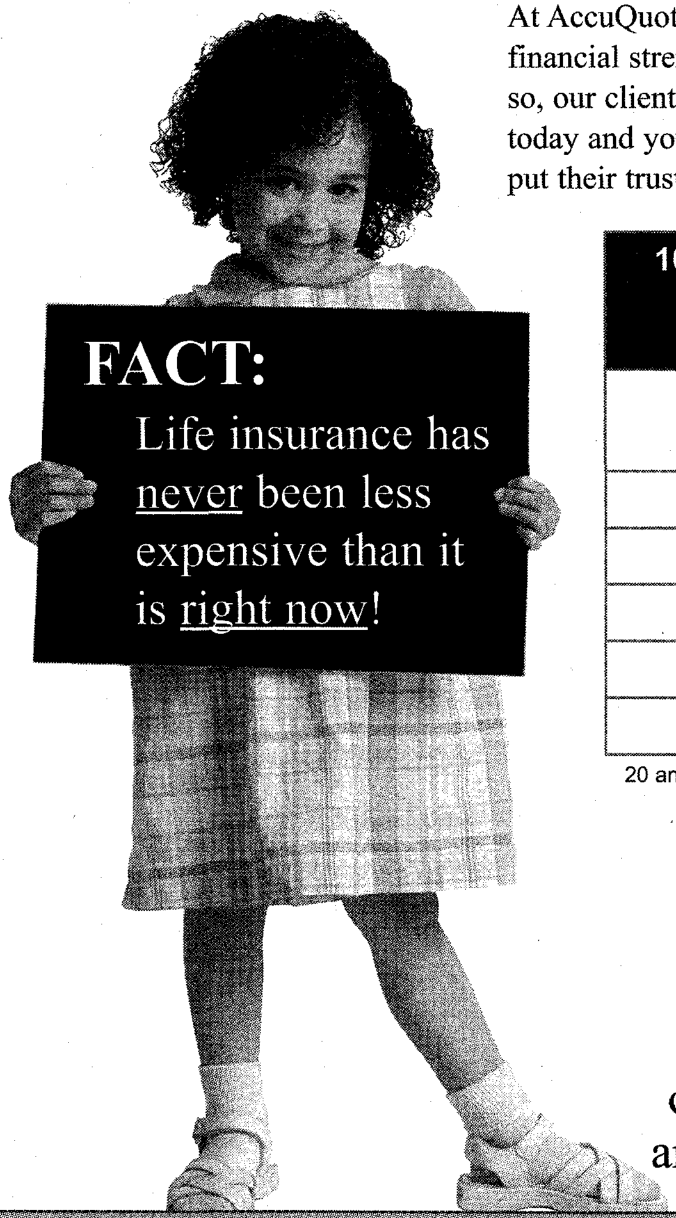
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the main issue for many Democrats. "Kerry is deeply antiwar," says a longtime friend. "That's gotten buried. He is the last person who would involve us in a foreign conflict without exhausting every remedy. He knows we were lied to about the Iraq war. He could make the case and say, in his cold and steely manner, 'There were lies.' I don't know why he ain't saying that. Instead, his campaign has overplayed the whole Vietnam thing. In previous campaigns, it was always present as a response, not an initiative. Now it's hackneyed. It's been very, very, very frustrating."

In some respects, Kerry has been running a campaign more suitable for re-electing an incumbent senator: Look at my résumé, look at my record, look at my advisers. But as Ralph Whitehead, professor of public service at the University of Massachusetts, observes, "If you want to sell a vacuum cleaner, you don't talk about its virtue, you demonstrate it. And Kerry has not yet demonstrated his assets. He talks about them. On the other hand, with his strong position against the war, Dean has led."

Will getting "real" put Kerry back in the hunt? He's lost time and faces severe obstacles in New Hampshire, a must-win state for him. "What does he have there?" asks a senior labor official who has worked with Kerry in the past. "He's a free-trade guy, so he doesn't have labor. He can't get the teachers, because Dean is so strong in criticizing the No Child Left Behind Act. And he whiffed on the war. So he cannot offer foreign policy credentials and principled opposition to the mess in Iraq. What does he use for leverage against Dean?" And Kerry's latest strategy—despite decades of progressive leanings—is easy to dismiss as an eleventh-hour move. One veteran Democratic operative unaffiliated with any campaign says, "So now Kerry's campaign is the 'Real Deal'? What was it before? The Phony Deal?" But this strategist adds, "Kerry has always had trouble defining himself. Whatever message he has now, he has to stick with it. He can't afford another change. For Kerry, the Real Deal is the only deal he has left."

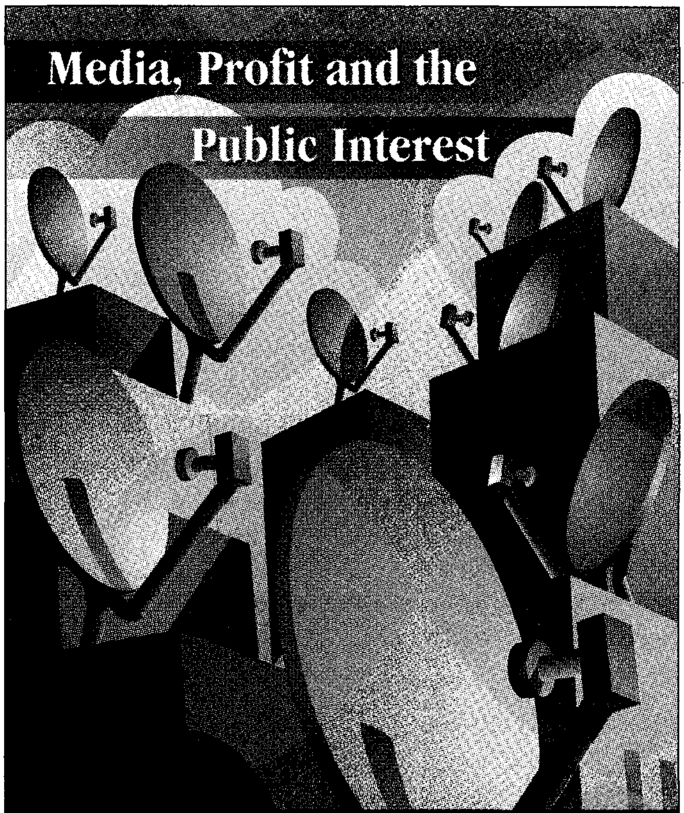
DAVID CORN

Restarting the Energy Bill

The stalling of the Republican-backed energy bill by a Democrat-led Senate filibuster was only a temporary reprieve. Now Senate majority leader Bill Frist vows to bring the bill up for "top priority" reconsideration when Congress reconvenes in January. For maximum speed he'd like the Senate to adopt the conference report intact and make any changes in a separate bill. The bill's sponsor, Pete Domenici, is trying to round up enough votes during the recess to overcome the filibuster, but the bill is so tightly knit that pulling one thread could unravel the whole bundle. Democrats say they'll use the opening to amend the bill so it addresses their concerns.

Both sides agree that what tipped the balance against this energy company piñata was the provision giving liability protection to Texas oil companies—pals of House majority leader Tom DeLay—responsible for contaminating the water supply with the gasoline additive methyl tertiary butyl ether, or MTBE. DeLay has blustered that he won't go along with any tampering with the

(Continued on Page 26)



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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

It Should Be Late, It Was Never Great

BEAT THE
DEVIL

Khrushchev wrote in his incomparable memoirs that Soviet admirals, like admirals everywhere, loved battleships because they could get piped aboard in great style amid the respectful hurrahs of their crews. It's the same with the United Nations, now more than ever reduced to the servile function of after-sales service provider for the United States, on permanent call as the mop-up brigade. It would be a great step forward if several big Third World countries were to quit the UN, declaring that it has no function beyond ratifying the world's present distasteful political arrangements. The trouble is that national elites in pretty much every UN-member country—now 191 in all—yearn to live in high style for at least a few years, and in some cases for decades, on the Upper East Side of Manhattan and to cut a dash in the General Assembly. They have a deep material stake in continuing membership, even though in the case of small, poor countries the prodigious outlays on a UN delegation could be far better used in decent domestic applications, funding local crafts or orphanages back home.

Barely a day goes by without some Democrat piously demanding an "increased role" for the UN in whatever misadventure for which the United States requires political cover. Howard Dean has built his candidacy on clarion calls for the UN's supposedly legitimizing assistance in Iraq. Despite the history of the 1990s, many leftists still have a tendency to invoke the UN as a countervailing power. When all other argument fails, they fall back on the International Criminal Court, an outfit that should have the same credibility as a beneficial institution as the World Bank or Interpol.

On the issue of the UN I can boast of a record of matchless consistency. As a toddler I tried to bar his exit from the nursery of our London flat when my father told me he was leaving for several weeks to attend, as diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Worker*, the founding conference of the UN in San Francisco. Despite my denunciation of all such absence-prompting conferences (and in my infancy there were many), he did go.

He wrote later in his autobiography, *Crossing the Line*, that

> the journey of our special train across the Middle West...was at times almost intolerably moving. Our heavily-laden special had some sort of notice prominently displayed on its sides, indicating it was taking people to the foundation meeting of the United Nations.... From towns and lonely villages all across the plains and prairies, people would come out to line the tracks, standing there with the flags still flying half-mast for Roosevelt on the buildings behind them, and their eyes fixed on this train with extraordinary intensity, as though it were part of the technical apparatus for the performance of a miracle.... On several occasions I saw a man or woman solemnly touch the train, the way a person might touch a talisman.

It was understandable that an organization aspiring to represent All Mankind and to espouse Peace should have excited fervent hopes in the wake of terrible war, but the fix was in from the start, as Peter Gowan reminds us in a spirited essay in the current *New Left Review*. The Rooseveltian vision was of an impotent General Assembly, with decision-making authority vested in a Security Council without, in Gowan's words, "the slightest claim to rest on any representative principle other than brute force," and of course dominated by the United States and its vassals. FDR did see a cosmopolitan role for the UN; not so Truman and Acheson, who followed Nelson Rockefeller's body blow to the nascent UN when, as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, the latter brokered the Act of Chapultepec in Mexico City in 1945, formalizing US dominance in the region through the soon-to-be-familiar regional military-security alliance set up by Acheson in the next period.

These days the UN has the same restraining role on the world's prime imperial power as did the Roman Senate in the fourth century AD, when there were still senators bustling from one cocktail party to another, intriguing to have their sons elected quaestor and so forth, sending the emperor pompous resolutions on the burning issues of the day.

For a modern evocation of what those senatorial resolutions must have been like, read the unanimous Security Council resolution on October 16 of this year, hailing the US-created "Governing Council of Iraq" and trolling out UN-speak to the effect that the Security Council "*welcomes* the positive response of the international community...to the establishment of the broadly representative Governing Council"; "*supports* the Governing Council's efforts to mobilize the people of Iraq"; "*requests* that the United States, on behalf of the multinational force...report to the Security Council on the efforts and progress of this force." Signed by France, Russia, China, Britain, the United States, Germany, Spain, Bulgaria, Chile, Mexico, Guinea, Cameroon, Angola, Pakistan and Syria. As Gowan remarks, this brazen twaddle evokes "the seating of Pol Pot's representatives in the UN for fourteen years after his regime was overthrown" by Vietnam.

Another way of assaying the UN's role in Iraq is to remember that it made a profit out of its own blockade and the consequent starvation of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi babies in the 1990s. As a fee for its part in administering the oil-for-food program, the UN helped itself to 2 percent off the top. (On more than one reliable account, members of the UN-approved Governing Council are demanding an even heftier skim in the present looting of Iraq's national assets.)

Two months before the October resolution, Washington's chosen instrument for selling the Governing Council, UN Special Envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello, was blown up in his office in Baghdad, where a more realistic assessment of the function of the UN obtains. So please, my friends, no more earnest calls for "a UN role," at least not until the outfit is radically reconstituted along genuinely democratic lines. As far as Iraq is concerned, all occupying forces should leave; all contracts concerning Iraq's national assets written across the last seven months repudiated. ■

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Death and Discourse

DIARY OF A
MAD LAW
PROFESSOR

"They got whacked and won't try that again," said an unnamed Pentagon official in the wake of the recent deadly confrontation in the Iraqi town of Samarra. The attack on two US convoys by Iraqi insurgents was described in only slightly less teacherly tones by Gen. Peter Pace, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: "They attacked, and they were killed. So I think it will be instructive to them." The battle resulted in five Americans being wounded and anywhere from eight to fifty-four Iraqi dead, a number that remains uncertain, given the Pentagon's general lack of commitment to counting Iraqi deaths of soldiers or civilians.

Perhaps these *Sopranos*-style depictions of deadly firefights as "instructive" are merely the words of hardened soldiers in the grip of the kind of adrenaline rush that comes with close brushes with death. With terrorism as a driving force in the world and *The Terminator* as entertainment backdrop, I am aware that the day of the euphemistically inclined gentleman soldier is long over. No one expects soldiers to be diplomats—indeed, no one expects diplomats at all from an Administration that has so openly disdained diplomacy itself. Nevertheless, I worry that much of what comes out of the mouths of Pentagon officials these days is utterly undisciplined and deeply unprofessional. From comments that we're fighting a holy war against the evils of Islam, to the presidential invitation to "bring 'em on," there is a kind of giddy, hopped-up video-game quality to the way our top brass discusses things.

However barbarous the foe we face, such muscle-flexing on our part displays an astonishing lack of awareness of the provocativeness of such language, not just to our enemies but to potential allies as well. Living inside the bubble of any discipline can reorder one's values in ways that are startling to outsiders, I suppose. Anyone who's had the misfortune of sitting through a criminal trial where bodily injury has occurred might have heard a forensics expert speak with unconscious enthusiasm about some "wonderful" picture of a "perfect" contusion. Communication is an art under any circumstance, and never more so than where matters life and death hang in the balance of better comprehension.

In 1987 Carol Cohn, a senior research scholar in the political science department at Wellesley College, wrote an article titled "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." Cohn had attended a two-week training program offered by military experts. Its purpose was to enable educators to better understand the strategic goals, technology and vocabulary of the nuclear era. What Cohn found was that by the end of all those intensive workshops among military brass, she and her fellow conferees came away with far more than just insight. They came away speaking a whole new language that had its own set of internal references, its own system of gendering objects and its own peculiar rituals. For example, missiles were often referred to in phallic terms. Whenever they visited warplanes or battleships, there was a bizarre little pause while everyone was given an opportunity to "pat the missile." Of particular interest from today's perspective, ordinary dictionary meanings were turned on their heads in the Pentagonese language. War was not just a means leading to the end of peace but actually came to mean peace. Likewise, there was "no word signifying peace" within this linguistic mode. To mention it was "immediately to brand oneself as a soft-headed activist instead of an expert, a professional to be taken seriously."

Cohn spoke at a recent symposium on violence at Barnard College: "In contrast to just war theory," she said, "this discourse is explicitly not centered on the ethics of warfare, but on its material and political practicalities.... In other words, the concerns of the dominant strategic discourse are limited to the destructive effects of the weapons when, and only when, they are detonated, and to the possible deterrent effects of possessing these weapons. There is scant attention to the potential suffering of targeted societies, and no attempt to evaluate complicated effects on possessor societies of deploying and developing these weapons, nor to grapple with the moral significance of willingly risking such massive, total destruction."

As a "possessor society" ourselves, we must indeed begin to grapple with the totalizing power of this narrower discourse upon us. September 11 was a horrific trauma upon our national psyche, but in the space of those two years we have become less of who we were in ways that are increasingly self-inflicted. We have embraced ethnic and religious profiling of Arab-Americans and immigrants; we allow the indefinite detention of prisoners not charged with any crime; we shrug off the use of torture as an unfortunate but necessary option; we detain the innocent wives and children of Iraqi suspects and trash their homes as "punishment." We are frightened, yes, but we seem also to have lost the ability to speak about the demise of due process, habeas corpus and regard for international law in any civic-minded way. Instead, the very language of dissent has been turned as upside-down as the notion of peace.

To criticize the Administration is persistently recast as a "personal attack." "Bush-hating," the newly and strategically minted Republican turn of phrase, is a semantic device that turns Democrats or other dissenters into duck hunters—reflexive emotional sportsmen rather than serious analysts of public policy. It's just Northern peevishness about his folksiness rather than his policy of pre-emptive warfare. It's about his twang rather than his reactionary judicial nominations. It's about his cowboy boots, not the restriction of civil liberties. And indeed it does seem rather churlish to speak of anything so grim as casualties if the only question on the table is whether Bush is or isn't a basically likable fellow, what with his down-home, turkey-serving, God-fearing, baseball-throwing, all-'round folksy-cowpoke manliness. But all that is quite beside the point. It will require the most courageous kind of citizenship to put our ears to the ground for the terrible resonance of all that whacking in the wilderness. ■

ARTICLES

AMERICAN APOCALYPSE

by ROBERT JAY LIFTON

The apocalyptic imagination has spawned a new kind of violence at the beginning of the twenty-first century. We can, in fact, speak of a worldwide epidemic of violence aimed at massive destruction in the service of various visions of purification and renewal. In particular, we are experiencing what could be called an apocalyptic face-off between Islamist forces, overtly visionary in their willingness to kill and die for their religion, and American forces claiming to be restrained and reasonable but no less visionary in their projection of a cleansing warmaking and military power. Both sides are energized by versions of intense idealism; both see themselves as embarked on a mission of combating evil in order to redeem and renew the world; and both are ready to release untold levels of violence to achieve that purpose.

The war on Iraq—a country with longstanding aspirations toward weapons of mass destruction but with no evident stockpiles of them and no apparent connection to the assaults of September 11—was a manifestation of that American visionary projection.

The religious fanaticism of Osama bin Laden and other Islamist zealots has, by now, a certain familiarity to us as to others elsewhere, for their violent demands for spiritual purification are aimed as much at fellow Muslims as at American "infidels." Their fierce attacks on the defilement that they believe they see everywhere in contemporary life resemble those of past movements and sects from all parts of the world; such sects, with end-of-the-world prophecies and programmatic violence in the service of bringing those prophecies about, flourished in Europe from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries. Similar sects like the fanatical Japanese cult Aum Shinrikyo, which released sarin gas into the Tokyo subways in 1995, have existed, even proliferated, in our own time.

The American apocalyptic entity is less familiar to us. Even if its urges to power and domination seem historically recognizable, it nonetheless represents a new constellation of forces bound up with what I've come to think of as "superpower syndrome." By that term I mean a national mindset—put forward strongly by a tight-knit leadership group—that takes on a sense of omnipotence, of unique standing in the world that grants it the right to hold sway over all other nations. The American superpower status derives from our emergence from World War II as uniquely powerful in every respect, still more so as the only superpower from the end of the cold war in the early 1990s.

More than mere domination, the American superpower now seeks to control history. Such cosmic ambition is accompanied by an equally vast sense of entitlement—of special dispensation to pursue its aims. That entitlement stems partly from historic claims to special democratic virtue, but has much to do with an embrace of technological power translated into military terms. That is, a superpower—the world's only superpower—is entitled to dominate and control precisely because it is a superpower.

The murderous events of 9/11 hardened that sense of entitlement as nothing else could have. Superpower syndrome did not require 9/11, but the attacks on the twin towers and the Pentagon rendered us an aggrieved superpower, a giant violated and made vulnerable, which no superpower can permit.

Indeed, at the core of superpower syndrome lies a powerful fear of vulnerability. A superpower's victimization brings on both a sense of humiliation and an angry determination to restore, or even extend, the boundaries of a superpower-dominated world. Integral to superpower syndrome are its menacing nuclear stockpiles and their world-destroying capacity.

In important ways, the "war on terrorism" has represented an impulse to undo violently precisely the humiliation of 9/11. To be sure, the acts of that day had a warlike aspect. They were certainly committed by men convinced that they were at war with us. In post-Nuremberg terms they could undoubtedly be considered a "crime against humanity." Some kind of force used against their perpetrators was inevitable and appropriate. The humiliation caused, together with American world ambitions, however, precluded dealing with the attacks as what they were—terrorism by a small group of determined zealots, not war. A more focused, restrained, internationalized response to Al Qaeda could have been far more effective without being a stimulus to expanded terrorism.

The attacks on 9/11 rendered us an aggrieved superpower, a giant made vulnerable, which no superpower can permit.

Unfortunately, our response was inseparable from our superpower status and the syndrome that goes with it. Any nation attacked in that way would have felt itself humiliated. But for the United States, with our national sense of being overwhelmingly powerful and unchallengeable, to have its major institutions violently penetrated created an intolerable breakdown of superpower invulnerability that was never supposed to happen, a contradiction that fed our humiliation.

We know from history that collective humiliation can be a goad to various kinds of aggressive behavior—as has been true of bin Laden and Al Qaeda. It was also true of the Nazis. Nazi doctors told me of indelible scenes, which they either witnessed as young children or were told about by their fathers, of German soldiers returning home defeated after World War I. These beaten men, many of them wounded, engendered feelings of pathos, loss and embarrassment, all amid national misery and threatened revolution. Such scenes, associated with strong feelings of humiliation, were seized upon by the Nazis to the point where one could say that Hitler rose to power on the promise of avenging them.

With both Al Qaeda and the Nazis, humiliation could, through manipulation but also powerful self-conviction, be transformed into exaggerated expressions of violence. That psychological transformation of weakness and shame into a collective sense of pride and life-power, as well as power over others, can release enormous amounts of aggressive energy. Such dangerous potential has been present from the beginning in the American "war" on terrorism.

Infinite War

War itself is an absolute, its violence unpredictable and always containing apocalyptic possibilities. In this case, by militarizing the problem of terrorism, our leaders have dangerously obfuscated its political, social and historical dimensions. Terrorism has instead been raised to the absolute level of war itself. And although American leaders speak of this as being a "different kind of war," there is a drumbeat of ordinary war rhetoric and a clarion call to total victory and to the crushing defeat of our terrorist enemies. When President Bush declared that "this conflict was begun on the timing and terms of others [but] will end in a way, and at an hour, of our choosing," he was misleading both in suggesting a clear beginning in Al Qaeda's acts and a decisive end in the "battle" against terrorism. In that same speech, given at a memorial service just three days after 9/11 at the National Cathedral in Washington, he also asserted, "Our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil." *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward, not a man given to irony, commented that "the president was casting his mission and that of the country in the grand vision of God's master plan."

At no time did Bush see his task as mounting a coordinated international operation against terrorism, for which he could have enlisted most of the governments of the world. Rather, upon hearing of the second plane crashing into the second tower, he remembers thinking: "They had declared war on us, and I made up my mind at that moment that we were going to war." Upon hearing of the plane crashing into the Pentagon, he told Vice President Cheney, "We're at war." Woodward thus calls his account of the President's first hundred days following 9/11 *Bush at War*. Bush would later recall, "I had to show the American people the resolve of a commander in chief that was going to do whatever it took to win." With world leaders, he felt he had to "look them in the eye and say, 'You're either with us or you're against us.'" Long before the invasion of Iraq—indeed, even before the invasion of Afghanistan—Bush had come to identify himself, and be identified by others, as a "wartime president."

Warmaking can quickly become associated with "war fever," the mobilization of public excitement to the point of a collective experience of transcendence. War then becomes heroic, even mythic, a task that must be carried out for the defense of one's nation, to sustain its special historical destiny and the immortality of its people. In this case, the growth of war fever came in several stages: its beginnings, with Bush's personal declaration of war immediately after September 11; a modest increase, with the suc-

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Robert Jay Lifton is the author of Death in Life *and* The Nazi Doctors. *This essay was adapted from* Superpower Syndrome: America's Apocalyptic Confrontation With the World, *just out from Nation Books.*

25th Anniversary of Pope John Paul II

Saved from Destruction: The Last 1,000 Lire Coins of Pope John Paul II

Vatican City, Tuesday 8:55 AM—25 years after John Paul II became Pope, the 1,000 Lire coins bearing his image have been officially recalled from circulation and melted down. These historic legal tender coins of the Vatican City are being replaced by the new "Euro" currency, which is systematically eliminating the coins of nations throughout Europe.

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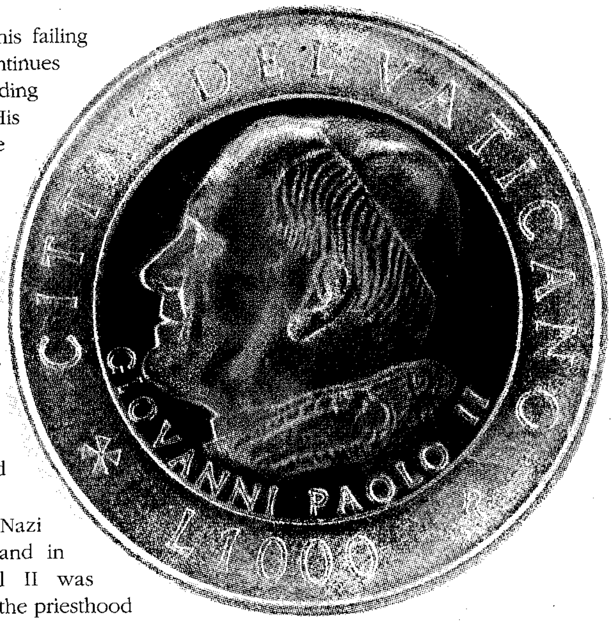
Time Magazine—from "Man of the Year Issue".

A Courageous Life. Despite his failing health, Pope John Paul II continues to do his best to be a guiding light for humanity. His 25 years in the Papacy have been marked by the victorious return of Christianity to Eastern Europe. He has no weapons and no armies, yet he is one of the most powerful forces on earth because of his moral and spiritual leadership.

During the Nazi occupation of Poland in WWII, John Paul II was forced to study for the priesthood in secrecy. His brave stand against communism was an early indication of the spiritual strength that has become the hallmark of his papacy. Through his unprecedented travels throughout the world he has touched the lives of more people than any Pope in history.

Forgiveness in His Heart. In 1981 the Pope was seriously wounded when a Turkish gunman, Mehmet ali Agca, attempted to assassinate him in St. Peter's Square. Emergency surgery saved his life. Yet in 1986, he met with Ali Agca and forgave him. The Pope would not let his wounds prevent him from remaining true to his unshakable faith and spreading his spiritual message to all people.



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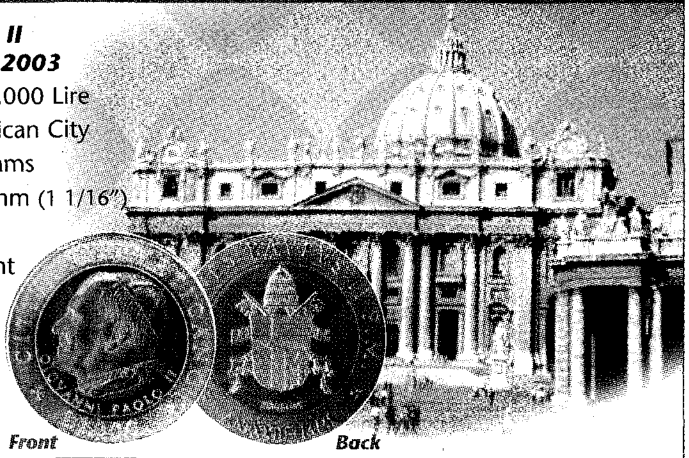

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1-800-859-1538 WWW.FIRSTFEDERALMINT.COM cessful invasion of Afghanistan; and a wave of ultrapatriotic excesses—triumphalism and labeling of critics as disloyal or treasonous—at the time of the invasion of Iraq. War fever tends always to be sporadic and subject to disillusionment. Its underside is death anxiety, in this case related less to combat than to fears of new terrorist attacks at home or against Americans abroad—and later to growing casualties in occupied Iraq.

The scope of George Bush's war was suggested within days of 9/11 when the director of the CIA made a presentation to the President and his inner circle, called "Worldwide Attack Matrix," that described active or planned operations of various kinds in eighty countries, or what Woodward calls "a secret global war on terror." Early on, the President had the view that "this war will be fought on many fronts" and that "we're going to rout out terror wherever it may exist." Although envisaged long before 9/11, the invasion of Iraq could be seen as a direct continuation of this unlimited war; all the more so because of the prevailing tone among the President and his advisers, who were described as eager "to emerge from the sea of words and pull the trigger."

The war on terrorism is apocalyptic, then, exactly because it is militarized and yet amorphous, without limits of time or place, and has no clear end. It therefore enters the realm of the infinite. Implied in its approach is that every last terrorist everywhere on the earth is to be hunted down until there are no more terrorists anywhere to threaten us, and in that way the world will be rid of evil. Bush keeps what Woodward calls "his own personal scorecard for the war" in the form of photographs with brief biographies and personality sketches of those judged to be the world's most dangerous terrorists, each ready to be crossed out if killed or captured. The scorecard is always available in a desk drawer in the Oval Office.

War and Reality

The amorphousness of the war on terrorism is such that a country like Iraq—with a murderous dictator who had surely engaged in acts of terrorism in the past—could, on that basis, be treated as if it had major responsibility for 9/11. There was no evidence at all that it did. But by means of false accusations, emphasis on the evil things Saddam Hussein had done (for instance, the use of poison gas on his Kurdish minority) and the belligerent atmosphere of the overall war on terrorism, the Administration succeeded in convincing more than half of all Americans that Saddam was a major player in 9/11.

The war on terrorism, then, took amorphous impulses toward combating terror and used them as a pretext for realizing a prior mission aimed at American global hegemony. The attack on Iraq reflected the reach not only of the "war on terrorism" but of deceptions and manipulations of reality that have accompanied it. In this context, the word "war" came to combine metaphor (as in the "war on poverty" or "war on drugs"), conventional military combat, justification for "pre-emptive" attack and assertion of superpower domination.

Behind such planning and manipulation can lie dreams and fantasies hardly less apocalyptic or world-purifying than those of Al Qaeda's leaders, or of Aum Shinrikyo's guru. For instance, former Director of Central Intelligence James Woolsey, a close associate of Donald Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz in the Pentagon, spoke of the war against terrorism as a Fourth World War (the Third being the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union). In addressing a group of college students, he declared, "This Fourth World War, I think, will last considerably longer than either World Wars I or II did for us. Hopefully not the full four-plus decades of the cold war."

That kind of apocalyptic impulse in warmaking has hardly proved conducive to a shared international approach. Indeed, in its essence, it precludes genuine sharing. While Bush has frequently said that he prefers to have allies in taking on terrorism and terrorist states worldwide, he has also made it clear that he does not want other countries to have any policy-making power on this issue. In one revealing statement, he declared: "At some point, we may be the only ones left. That's OK with me. We are America." In such declarations, he has all but claimed that Americans are the globe's anointed ones and that the sacred mission of purifying the earth is ours alone.

The amorphousness of the war on terrorism carries with it a paranoid edge, the suspicion that terrorists and their supporters are everywhere and must be "pre-emptively" attacked lest they emerge and attack us. Since such a war is limitless and infinite—extending from the farthest reaches of Indonesia or Afghanistan to Hamburg, Germany, or New York City, and from immediate combat to battles that continue into the unending future—it inevitably becomes associated with a degree of megalomania as well. As the world's greatest military power replaces the complexities of the world with its own imagined stripped-down, us-versus-them version of it, our distorted national self becomes the world.

Despite the constant invocation by the Bush Administration of the theme of "security," the war on terrorism has created the very opposite—a sense of fear and insecurity among Americans, which is then mobilized in support of further aggressive plans in the extension of the larger "war." What results is a vicious circle that engenders what we seek to destroy: Our excessive response to Islamist attacks creates more terrorists and more terrorist attacks, which in turn leads to an escalation of the war on terrorism, and so on. The projected "victory" becomes a form of aggressive longing, of sustained illusion, of an unending "Fourth World War" and a mythic cleansing—of terrorists, of evil, of our own fear. The American military apocalyptic can then be said to partner and act in concert with the Islamist apocalyptic.

Off the Treadmill

We can do better. America is capable of wiser, more measured approaches, more humane applications of our considerable power and influence in the world. These may not be as far away as they now seem, and can be brought closer by bringing our imaginations to bear on them. Change must be political, of course, but certain psychological contours seem necessary to it.

As a start, we do not have to partition the world into two contending apocalyptic forces. We are capable instead of reclaiming our moral compass, of finding further balance in our national behavior. So intensely have we embraced superpower syndrome that emerging from it is not an easy task. Yet in doing so we would relieve ourselves of a burden of our own creation—the burden of insistent illusion. For there is no greater weight

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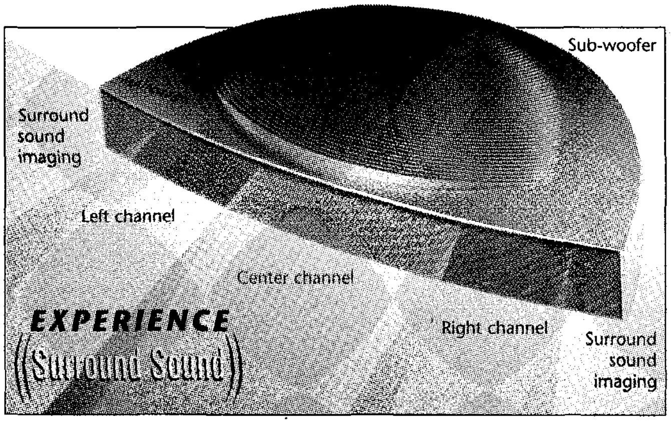

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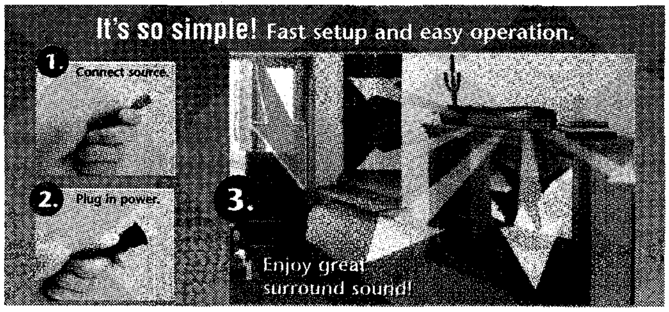

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than that which one takes on when pursuing total power.

We need to take a new and different lesson from Lord Acton's nineteenth-century assertion: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Acton was not quite right. The corruption begins not with the acquisition of power but with the quest for and claim to absolute power. Ever susceptible to the seductive promise that twenty-first-century technology can achieve world control, the superpower (or would-be superpower) can best resist that temptation by recognizing the corruption that follows upon its illusion.

To renounce the claim to total power would bring relief not only to everyone else but, soon enough, to the leaders and followers of the superpower itself. For to live out superpower syndrome is to place oneself on a treadmill that eventually has to break down. In its efforts to rule the world and to determine history, the superpower is, in fact, working against itself, subjecting itself to constant failure. It becomes a Sisyphus with bombs, able to set off explosions but unable to cope with its own burden, unable to roll its heavy stone to the top of the hill in Hades. Perhaps the crucial step in ridding ourselves of the syndrome is recognizing that history cannot be controlled, fluidly or otherwise.

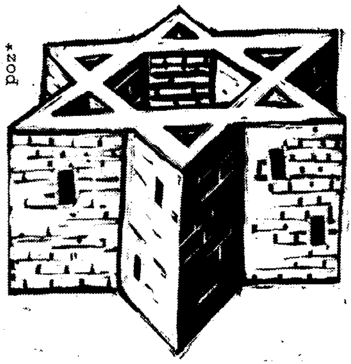
Stepping off the superpower treadmill would also enable us to cease being a nation ruled by fear. Renouncing omnipotence would make our leaders themselves less fearful of weakness, and diminish their inclination to instill fear in their people as a means of enlisting them for illusory military efforts at world hegemony. Without the need for invulnerability, everyone would have much less to be afraid of. ■

IT IS ISRAEL'S COMPENSATORY RESPONSE TO THE TRUTH OF JEWISH EXPERIENCE.

In Defense of the Law of Return

LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN

Israel was established as a democratic Jewish state. While reasonable people may differ as to whether it is "too Jewish," or how well it has fulfilled its promise of equal rights for all, few would dispute that the Law of Return is on its face antithetical to the core principles of democracy. Passed on July 5, 1950, two days after the anniversary of Theodor Herzl's death, it guarantees every Jew automatic entrance and immediate citizenship. Members of other ethnic and religious groups may be accepted as immigrants or refugees, but Jews who "make aliyah" instantly acquire the right to vote, receive financial benefits, even run for the Knesset. Since the law privileges Jews and only Jews, its perils are obvious:



poz*

PETER O. ZIERLEIN

(1) It codifies a double standard. In contravention of the Declaration of Independence of 1948, which insures "complete equality of social and political rights to all [of Israel's] inhabitants," the law grants one group a superior legal entitlement, creating a hierarchy of human worth based on religious identity and setting the stage for other asymmetrical privileges.

(2) It nullifies and supersedes legitimate property rights. Jews with no claim to residence (aside from biblical assurances or messianic eschatology) are welcomed with open arms while Palestinians who hold keys to particular homes or deeds to particular property are denied entry.

(3) It serves hegemonic goals. Many who proselytize for privileged Jewish immigration espouse a not-so-hidden agenda. They want Jewish citizens to outnumber Arab citizens in order to insure the Jewishness of the state and concentrate power in Jewish hands. (And the Jews they want are usually Greater Israel triumphalists, not members of Brit Tzedek, B'nai Jeshurun, the Tikkun Community or your local lesbian-feminist *havurah*.)

Recognizing these problems, how can I, a civil libertarian and longtime critic of Israel's discriminatory policies toward its Palestinian Arab citizens, defend the Law of Return?

Because in this case, I believe history trumps ideology and politics. The Jewish right to instant citizenship strikes me as a factually warranted, compensatory response to the truth of Jewish experience. In David Ben-Gurion's words, "This right is inherent in every Jew by virtue of his being a Jew." Since being a Jew has been enough in some places to mark one for persecution or death, it should be a ticket to safety at least on one spot on the globe. However—and this is where I part company with many Zionists—Jews should be entitled to no other prerogatives, claims, immunities or indulgences. Immigration is the only policy arena that merits diluting the purity of democracy with the poison of privilege.

Put simply, I view the Law of Return as the affirmative action program of the Jewish people. It's a legal accommodation that has been earned in the same way that preferential educational and employment policies in the United States were earned by people of color: through suffering. If four centuries of slavery and institutionalized racism can justify affirmative action programs for American blacks whether or not they themselves were brought here in chains, then surely twenty centuries of oppres-

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Letty Cottin Pogrebin, a founding editor of Ms. *magazine and a past president of the Authors Guild and Americans for Peace Now, is the author of nine books, including* Deborah, Golda, and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America *(Anchor), and* Three Daughters, *her first novel (Penguin). This essay originally appeared in the collection* Wrestling With Zion: Progressive Jewish-American Responses to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, *edited by Tony Kushner and Alisa Solomon and just published by Grove.*

sion and annihilation—think Crusades, Inquisition, forced conversions, pogroms, the Gulag, the Holocaust—justify similarly discrepant favoritism for Jews in Israel.

Bias in favor of an "affected class" is an acknowledgment of the continuing vulnerability of individuals who belong to a disadvantaged group. Much as we Jews might yearn to be a people like any other, the events of three millennia attest that we tend instead to be universal pariahs, perennial exiles, the boat people of the world. I'm mindful of the arrogance of asserting national uniqueness—and of citing Jewish weakness in the face of Israeli military strength—but the fact remains that in every era of recorded time, someone somewhere had it in for the Jews. Egypt, Rome, Babylonia, Cyprus, Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Italy, Russia, Syria, Iraq, the former Soviet Union, Turkey, Yemen, Ethiopia—all have produced horrific tyrants and run-of-the-mill tormentors who have excoriated, demonized, humiliated, scapegoated, blood-libeled, ghettoized, banished or slaughtered Jews.

Were Israel as committed to justice as to Jewishness, Jews would enjoy no special rights beyond this privilege of instant citizenship.

The Law of Return is a remedy for that past and a guarantor of future asylum. As one friend, the child of Holocaust survivors, confessed, "It's my security blanket."

One needn't be Simon Wiesenthal to notice the scary things happening to Jews around the world right now: In Paris a group of Muslim youths forced a woman to swallow her Star of David necklace; a cinema canceled a showing of *Harry Potter* to 800 Jewish children because of threats of violence; the words "dirty Jew" were painted on the statue of Alfred Dreyfus. In Berlin visiting American rabbis were given a police escort for their own safety and warned not to wear their yarmulkes in public. In Brussels two synagogues were firebombed, a third sprayed by automatic weapons. A yeshiva student in Orthodox attire was stabbed twenty times on a London bus. A woman in Russia was maimed when she tried to remove an anti-Semitic billboard that was booby-trapped with explosives.

According to 2002 ADL polls, 30 percent of respondents in England, Germany, France, Denmark and Belgium expressed strong anti-Semitic feelings, as did more than one in five respondents in Italy, Spain, Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Measured by swastika graffiti, cemetery or synagogue vandalism, and threats and assaults, anti-Semitism in the United States rose 8 percent last year, averaging four incidents per day.

Other chilling developments: Rumors that "the Jews" masterminded the destruction of the World Trade Center or were warned in advance to stay home from work on 9/11 have entered respectable public discourse on websites and in communities where the notion of "Jewish power" is buttressed by *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.*

On some US campuses, anti-Israel rhetoric has been conflated with flagrantly anti-Semitic slogans, like "Hitler should have finished the job." Such verbal abuse, often accompanied by physical harassment, can be so traumatizing as to make Jews wonder if they should leave the country before it's déjà vu all over again. (For the left to ignore attacks on Jews as Jews is as morally execrable as criticism of Sharon's government is morally obligatory.)

Recently the specter of "dual loyalties," long a trigger of anti-Semitic bigotry, was raised when Patrick Buchanan, the ultra-right commentator and former presidential candidate, cast aspersions on those who "harbor a passionate attachment to a nation not our own." Representative James Moran of Virginia stirred up another incendiary canard—Jewish influence—by attributing America's war with Iraq to "the strong support of the Jewish community," though polls showed Jewish attitudes toward military action precisely matched the national sentiment.

In the 1970s, during Jimmy Carter's oil crisis, I pulled into a service station behind a car with a bumper sticker that read, "If you're waiting in line for gas, blame the Jews." Now it seems the Jews are responsible for the Iraq war, Islamist terrorism, oil shortages, the AIDS epidemic and international anti-Americanism. The culprits are not Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, Elliott Abrams or Douglas Feith but "the Jews." (I've yet to hear someone blame the Methodists for George Bush and Dick Cheney, or the blacks for Condi Rice and Colin Powell.)

Given rising anti-Semitic vitriol and the recurrent habit, especially in hard times, of attributing to Jews nefarious motives and conspiratorial power, there is new resonance to the old joke, "Even paranoids have enemies." I've begun to wonder how many more Americans—ordinary working people cowed by accusations of "class warfare" and unwilling to trace their economic and social discontents to globalization, tax cuts for the rich, corporate malfeasance or cowboy leadership—might start looking for someone to blame. And whether, to assuage a disgruntled populace or achieve an ideological or political purpose, those in power might dump on "the Jews" to the point where we are once again at risk. And whether any nation, based on its track record, can be trusted to guarantee Jewish safety. And why, after all we've been through, Jews should have to justify the existence of a haven, a place where, in Robert Frost's words, "when you have to go there, they have to take you in."

For me, the reason to maintain the Law of Return is Rescue. Every country formulates its immigration policy to suit its perceived national self-interest. The United States maintains quotas, deports "undesirables," welcomes Cuban defectors while denying asylum to Nigerians escaping worse persecution. Israel takes in Jews.

Mideast harmony does not require world Jewry to renounce this lifeline. Were the Knesset to rescind the Jewish Law of Return tomorrow it would not by itself reignite the peace process. What would advance the cause, however, would be Israel's acknowledgment of the Palestinian right of return. While it is not feasible to absorb millions of Palestinian refugees inside the Green Line, it is possible, as proposed in the 2003 Geneva Accords, to take in thousands without imperiling the Jewishness of Israel or, in lieu of physical return, for Israel to pay reparations and help the Palestinian state absorb some of its own diaspora within its own borders. It is possible for Israel to admit that the displacement of another people was a byproduct of the establishment of the Jewish state, to address the pain of that expulsion diplomatically and economically, and find a compromise that

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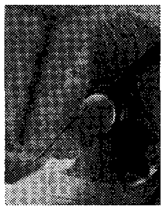

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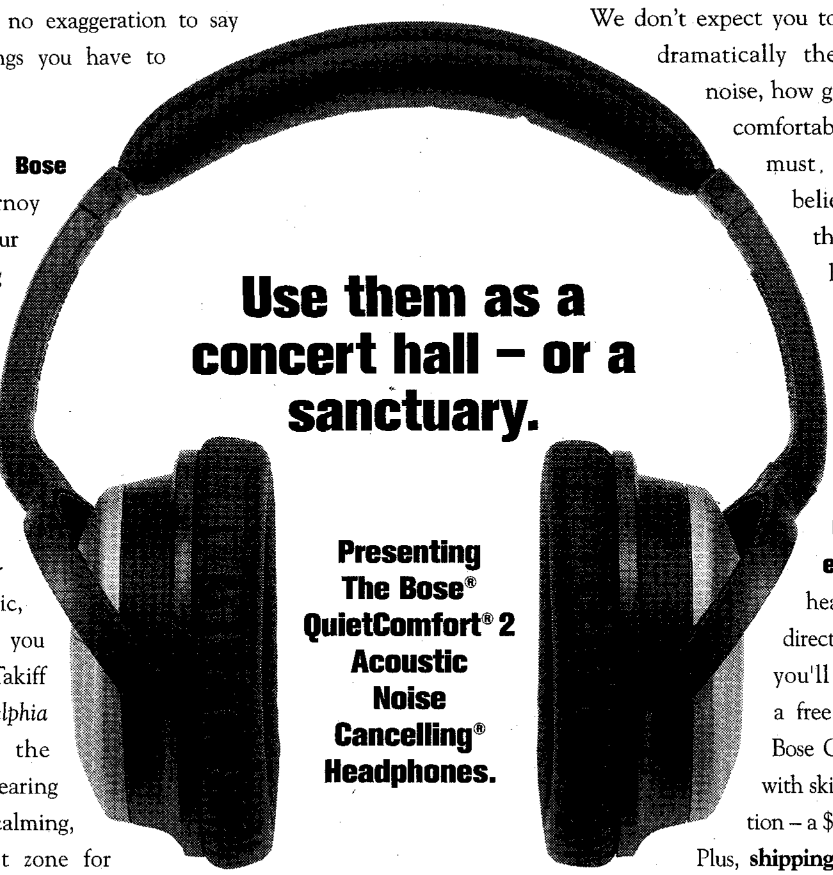

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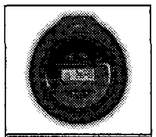

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honors Palestinians' parallel passion for this beleaguered land.

Were Israel as committed to justice as to Jewishness, its internal democracy would not be threatened by the Law of Return, because, beyond instant citizenship, Jews would enjoy no special rights. Jewish institutions would not receive disproportionate resources. Jewish neighborhoods would not be better served by public utilities and government agencies. The Jewish National Fund would not have the power to deny non-Jews the right to live, work or run a business on "state lands." Jewish votes would not count more than votes of other citizens in the psychology of electoral legitimacy. Jewish officials would be held accountable for the impact of their policies on non-Jews. Orthodox political parties would not be permitted to hijack the political process for the exclusive advantage of their own communities. The rabbinate would not control the laws of "personal status" that affect every citizen.

But then, some might ask, what would make the Jewish state Jewish? Culture. Historical markers. Educational priorities. Hebrew as an official language. Jewish holidays. If Christmas qualifies as a national holiday in our democracy, why not Hanukkah in Israel? If Thanksgiving and July 4 can be celebrated by all Americans, including those without the remotest connection to the Pilgrims or the Founding Fathers, why can't Yom Ha'atzmaut (Israeli Independence Day) or Tisha B'av be official commemorations in Israel? If "bombs bursting in air" can be glorified in our national anthem, *nefesh Yehudi* (the Jewish spirit) can be tolerated in Hatikva. If Sunday remains the pre-eminent day of rest here, with shuttered liquor stores to prove it, Israeli banks can be closed on Shabbat.

Just as American history takes precedence in our school curricula, Jewish history can hold pride of place in Israel. If American teachers can struggle with competing narratives—about cowboys and Indians, or the McCarthy era, or the Confederate flag—Israeli educators can haggle over conflicting perspectives on the British Mandate, the War of Independence or the Zionist dream.

More than anything else, Jews can make the state Jewish by acting Jewishly. This is *tachlis*, not tautology. Israel needs more Jews who are willing to pay for the privilege of citizenship with the practice of justice: Jews who actualize Jewish values in their everyday life rather than merely speak the right words in synagogue. Jews who do not oppress the stranger, do not treat the Other as they would not wish to be treated, and never forget that each human being was created in God's image. Jews who seek peace and pursue it. ■

Letter From **South Carolina**

FIRST CLASS
SPECIAL DELIVERY

by Paul Wachter

Shortly after Strom Thurmond died, the flags at the South Carolina Statehouse in Columbia were lowered to half-staff. Every flag except one, that is. There on the northern grounds below the Capitol steps, facing Main Street, the Confederate flag waved high. On that late-June evening, the flag served as a visible, and shameful, reminder: Racial politics in the South would long outlive their most resilient practitioner.

Thurmond's death marked the end of an era, in that he was one of the South's last living political links to the days of colored water fountains and segregated lunch counters. But even as that era is passing into history, history itself is becoming a battleground, demonstrating once again the truth of William Faulkner's famous line: "The past is never dead. It's not even past."

On one side is the version of history promoted by conservative whites, who venerate the brave Confederate soldiers and their gallant generals. On the other side are blacks and the beleaguered, shrinking ranks of liberal whites, who prefer to speak about slavery as the horror it was. Now, a pair of major museum projects—one an unvarnished memorial to the realities of slavery, the other a celebration of the Confederacy—are about to make permanent the segregation of the region's history. Both will be located in or near Charleston, the heart of the antebellum South, where the Civil War started.

The first project, a museum of African-American history, is being spearheaded by Charleston's popular long-term Democratic mayor, Joe Riley, a white progressive who has built his career on racial reconciliation. The second project, a museum for the Hunley, a Confederate submarine recovered off Charleston's coast, is championed by Confederacy-obsessed Republican State Senator Glenn McConnell, playing to the same impulses that fuel the pro-flag movement.

In the coming years, Riley and McConnell likely will be competing for limited public funds. But more important, they also will be competing to define how the South views its history—and by extension, how the rest of the country views the South. "This is always how it's been down here, unfortunately," said Democratic State Senator Darrell Jackson, an African-American whose slave ancestors were freed in the Civil War. "In this state there are two histories of South Carolina: one for the descendants of white slaveowners, the other for the descendants of slaves."

These competing histories spill over into national politics. The "vital South"—the eleven states of the old Confederacy—is the nation's most populous region, home to 84 million people according to the 2000 census. Courting African-American voters ahead of South Carolina's February 3 primary, the first in the South, most of the Democratic presidential candidates have already declared their opposition to the Confederate flag's presence on the Statehouse grounds. For Republicans, the conservative white vote is more important, which is why, during his 2000

Paul Wachter is a staff writer for the State *newspaper in Columbia, South Carolina.*

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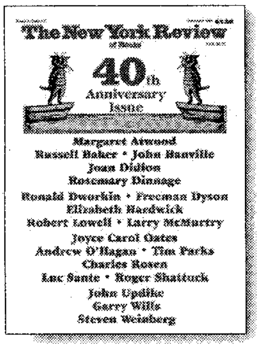
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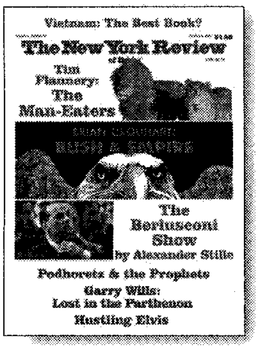
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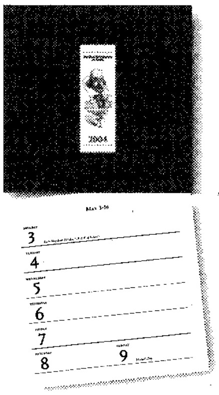

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primary run, George W. Bush made a controversial appearance at Bob Jones University.

"In much of the Deep South you're seeing increasing separation between the races—in politics for sure, but also in residential patterns and schools," said Dan Carter, an award-winning historian at the University of South Carolina. Carter believes the two museum projects are symbols of this resegregation. "There will be two very different visions of the past, existing parallel."

Mayor Riley's project, the proposed $40 million International Museum of African-American History, to be completed by 2007, promises to provide an honest look at the history of slavery in Charleston, where nearly half of all slaves brought to the United States first landed. Riley, 60, recalled that growing up in Charleston, he was uncomfortable with the Jim Crow norms. "I remember once as a young child, we were in a restaurant," he said. "A slender, dignified-looking African-American waiter asked me a question—I don't remember what. I answered 'yes sir' or 'no sir.'" When the waiter was out of earshot, Riley said, his father scolded him. "He told me, 'You don't say sir to a'"—Riley paused—"an African-American."

The battle over the meaning of the Civil War, the most significant episode in Southern history, continues to dominate Southern politics.

A Brooklyn Dodgers fan, Riley admired African-American athletes like Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella and Joe Black. He also idolized Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders, who, he said, "exposed white Southerners of goodwill to their conscience." When he joined the state legislature in 1968, Riley helped dismantle the Jim Crow system under which he had been raised. And six years later, at the urging of African-American leaders and prominent white businessmen, he ran for mayor promising to promote racial harmony.

Now, Riley hopes the African-American history museum will help fulfill that promise. But that doesn't mean avoiding harsh truths, according to Representative James Clyburn, chairman of the museum's steering committee and the first and only African-American to represent South Carolina in Congress since Reconstruction. "The museum will accurately depict the history of Africans leaving their native lands, going through the Middle Passage and living as slaves," Clyburn said.

Meanwhile, Clyburn's friend, State Senator Jackson, has misgivings about the motives behind Charleston's other major museum project, showcasing the Hunley. "These guys are always talking about 'showing courage against the enemy,'" he said. "Well, that enemy was the United States of America, which set my ancestors free."

Still, the Hunley, which was recovered off Charleston in 2000, has some historical significance: In 1864 it became the world's first submarine to sink an enemy ship (it sank, for reasons unknown, on its way back to port). Currently, the rusty vessel is stored in a conservation center in North Charleston.

McConnell, the champion of the Hunley Museum and South Carolina's most powerful state senator, runs a Confederate memorabilia store just a few exits down Interstate 26 from the Hunley. On a recent day he wore a tie decorated with the state flag—in Confederate red, not blue—and a wristwatch with a Confederate flag insignia. His cell phone, in a Confederate flag–emblazoned plastic sheath, is programmed to play "Dixie." McConnell's store is stocked with hundreds of such items as well as portraits of Civil War generals and rolls of toilet paper bearing Sherman's image.

McConnell, 55, said his passion for the Confederacy came late in life. "My grandfather was very anti-Sherman, but other than that, my parents didn't drill it into me," he said. He recalled that his interest was piqued during a legislative controversy in the 1980s, when state officials refused to allow the newly discovered remains of a Confederate soldier to lie in state at the Capitol. From then on, McConnell became increasingly interested. He participated in Civil War re-enactments and opened his Confederate memorabilia shop in 1989. But it wasn't until 1995, when the Hunley was discovered off Charleston's coast, that he found his true passion, and he now heads the nine-member state commission that oversees the Hunley project. The all-white Hunley Commission also includes five other Republican state legislators and Chris Sullivan, editor of *Southern Partisan*, a Confederate apologist magazine based in Columbia.

In its current location, the Hunley shares space with a concession area offering such items as Confederate T-shirts and bolls of cotton. The conservation center was packed during my two visits, but I never saw an African-American. If McConnell, a member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, gets his way, the Hunley museum will offer no apologies for slavery. "Racism existed in all quadrants of the United States during the War Between the States, and it's only the practice of modern politics to heap the blame for racism on the South," he said.

Riley and McConnell are formidable political forces, and both likely will see their projects to fruition. Riley said he will rely primarily on private financing to build the African-American history museum, which is one reason he recruited former President Bill Clinton to serve as honorary international advisory board chairman. Meanwhile, McConnell is counting on public funding for his estimated $40 million museum, which should be completed in a few years; taxpayers have already spent $8 million to raise and preserve the submarine. (The state has also committed to spending another $3.5 million to purchase a Civil War painting and artifact collection to be displayed alongside it.)

Nearly 140 years after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, the Civil War, according to Emory University political scientist Merle Black, "remains the most traumatic, most significant episode in Southern history." And the battle over the war's meaning—the "two histories" State Senator Jackson referred to—continues to dominate Southern politics. "We're close to having a white Republican Party and a black Democratic Party," said the University of South Carolina's Carter. "Whites like Riley are the exception. There are entire counties in South Carolina where you could fire a cannon in every direction and you wouldn't hit a white Democrat."

A look at the 2000 presidential election bears Carter out. Though he won only 8 percent of the African-American vote in the South, George W. Bush was able to sweep the region by winning 67 percent of the white vote. Bush's victory underscored an unsettling truth: In a region where African-Americans account for only

20 percent of the electorate, major elections are determined by white voters. "It's a simple formula," said Black. "To win elections in the South, Republicans have to win more than 60 percent of the white vote, while Democrats have to win more than 40 percent."

The erosion of the solid Democratic South is a familiar story. In recent years, the Republican surge has been abetted by the rise of the white middle class and the conservative religious movement. Al Gore's populist campaign did not resonate with these voters, Black said. "His father could have won on that campaign, maybe, back in 1950," Black said. Instead, Southern white moderates and conservatives are more receptive to a message of lower taxes and "family values."

They also respond to racial appeals. Bush's Bob Jones visit recalled Ronald Reagan's campaign trip to Philadelphia, Mississippi, two decades earlier. Both men demonstrated their conservative bona fides to white Southerners, Bush by speaking at a university that banned interracial dating, Reagan by visiting—at Mississippi Representative Trent Lott's urging—a community where three civil rights workers were killed with the help of local police officers in 1964. And more recently, Jim Hodges and Roy Barnes, the respective former Democratic governors of South Carolina and Georgia, lost their 2002 re-election bids thanks, in part, to their efforts to tone down the official display of the Confederate flag.

For many Southerners—including myself—the official display of the Confederate flag is an embarrassment. Nevertheless, it forces Southerners into an increasingly rare public debate over their common, disputed history. None of the politicians or historians I spoke with thought the two future Charleston museums would prove as controversial. This is not surprising, since, to put it crudely, with the International Museum of African-American History and the Hunley Museum, blacks will have their history and whites will have theirs. And so, I'm afraid, the museums—in the guise of education, no less—will not only come to symbolize the South's segregated past but also its segregated present and future. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
But I would argue that both fears are misplaced. The brilliant thing about democracy—real democracy, that is—is that it allows Jews to take their place on the political stage not as Jews per se, but as atheists, socialists, feminists or whatever. It depoliticizes Judaism rather than extolling it and raising it to the level of state policy. Rather than condemning the Palestinians to second-class status, similarly, democracy provides them with the ability to organize and thereby challenge the elite's monopoly on power. Instead of leaving them to stew on some impoverished reservation, it permits them to join forces with Jewish workers in order to challenge the very idea of a reserve army of labor. Democracy is more important to the poor and oppressed, not less.

As for David Rawson, his letter perfectly illustrates the Masada complex that the pro-Israel camp has done so much to cultivate. On one side is the Jewish state, while on the other are various leftists, "pro-Palestinian partisans" and terrorists seeking its destruction. All criticism of the Jewish state is therefore disingenuous and can be safely disregarded. The more the world complains about Israel's behavior, the more justified it feels in hollering "anti-Semitism!" and reaching for its gun.

Finally, let me assure Julie Adams that I fully share her desire to see Ariel Sharon tossed out on his *tuchus*. My point was merely that Israelis and Palestinians should jointly change the rules of the game so that his sort of politics are nipped in the bud. Daniel Lazare

EDUCATION FOR SOME

New York City
■ In David L. Kirp's "No Brainer" [Nov. 10], the President's education bill is referred to as a "leave no child behind" act. "Leave No Child Behind" is actually the trademarked slogan of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), an organization that has given children a voice in the halls of power for thirty years. The Bush Administration cleverly named its single-issue education bill No Child Left Behind. The word games may fool some people, but the inadequate funding for this bill fools no one. There is little chance it will improve outcomes in most school districts. Neither will it prepare children to enter school ready to learn.

On the other hand, the comprehensive Dodd-Miller Act to Leave No Child Behind (S. 448/H.R. 936), which CDF supports, recognizes that children don't come in pieces and addresses all the needs of children, including childcare, health insurance for all children, Head Start for every eligible child who needs it, housing, nutrition and prevention from child abuse and neglect. The Bush Administration's word games make children the losers.

Donna A. Lawrence
Children's Defense Fund

DeKalb, Ill.
■ David Kirp says, "Today's male college graduates make $32,000 a year more than those with only a high school diploma, up from a $15,000 difference in 1975, after adjusting for inflation. This leaves public officials more inclined to perceive the BA not as a social investment but as a ticket to personal financial security."

In 1975 I was a student at the City University of New York, paying $41.20 for a full-time semester, in the last year before the city went broke and CUNY started charging tuition. I will always be grateful to the taxpayers for footing the bill, because I would otherwise never have attempted college. But when I was in college, when the BA was perceived as a social investment, the majority of college students were men. Today, when it's perceived to be a ticket to financial security, the majority of college students are women. I see it in my own classes. I teach in a university program for under-prepared students from low-income families. Their loans will crush them six months after they graduate. They are overwhelmingly female, in some sections by a ratio of ten to one. By the way, I don't make $32,000 more than those with only a high school diploma. I make $30,000, period. Georgianna Henry

HEALTHCARE IN HAITI

Evergreen, Colo.
■ I really appreciated Tracy Kidder's "Trials of Haiti," about that neglected "fourth world" country [Oct. 27]. I traveled to Haiti for the first time on a medical service trip this past January. We opened a small clinic near the village of Petit Trou de Nippes. We saw more than 1,000 Haitians in two weeks. I have never seen such abject poverty, and I've been around a bit. Kidder did not mention the 350 Cuban doctors, sent by the Cuban government for two-year stints, mainly in rural areas, who provide the only public healthcare there. We worked hand in hand with some of those doctors and admired their dedication and fortitude in a pretty rough environment. F.G. Posner

CORRECTIONS

■ In Matt Taibbi's "Clark's True Colors" in last week's issue, it was John Kerry, not John Edwards, who spoke first at the labor rally in Whitefield, New Hampshire. Edwards did not attend. And the quote "Next thing you know, it'll be the Campaign of One" was mistakenly attributed to Arnie Alpert; someone else, whose name was not recorded by Taibbi, made the remark. We apologize for the errors.

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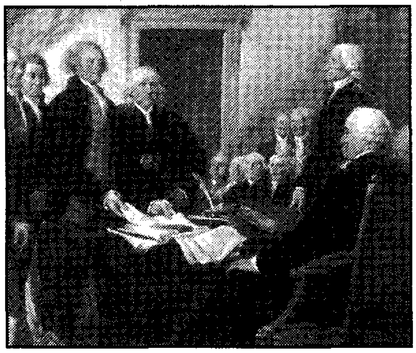

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The Signing of the Declaration of Independence, detail, by John Trumbull.

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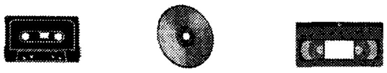

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(Continued From Page 8)

amnesty. If he gets his way, the MTBE cleanup could cost more than $140 billion—about the same as the savings and loan bailout.

Ignoring the warnings of scientists in and out of industry, oil companies started adding MTBE to gasoline in the 1980s. Foul-tasting and a suspected carcinogen, MTBE started leaking from underground storage tanks and into the nation's drinking water the day they started adding it to gasoline. Today, the EPA says it is finally satisfied with proof that MTBE causes cancer in animals; the industry, predictably, disagrees. But none dare argue that MTBE tastes other than horrible, or that it has not contaminated at least 1,500 public water supplies in all fifty American states.

The energy bill would outlaw MTBE while relieving the oil industry of any potential liability in connection with its past use of the chemical or its cleanup. Call it high-test tort reform, more polluter-friendly than regular tort reform, which merely seeks to cap liability for punitive damages. This is a full-service, commit-a-crime-and-don't-do-the-time, get-out-jail-free card to an industry that has behaved badly for a century.

The most painful irony is that MTBE wasn't necessary in the first place. The industry claims the government forced it to use the stuff when, in 1990, it mandated the addition of so-called oxygenates to gasoline to improve air quality. The problem with this assertion is that the government never specified MTBE as the oxygenate. In fact, a completely viable alternative, ethanol, was used by many refiners to meet the oxygenation requirement. A proven octane booster that contains 35 percent oxygen, ethanol is water-soluble, biodegradable, nontoxic, easily made and readily available. While MTBE is made from a hazardous byproduct of oil refining, ethanol is derived from renewable farm products and crop waste—no oil necessary.

Yet the oil companies preferred MTBE because it was more profitable. Internal documents dating back almost twenty-five years show they lobbied for it before they started selling it—even though Shell, Exxon and others knew the additive had a propensity for traveling faster than gasoline in search of the ground water deep below leaking underground storage tanks. They knew MTBE didn't biodegrade, that tanks leaked routinely. A Shell hydrogeologist testified in court that he dealt with MTBE spills as early as 1980, and around Shell, employees joked that the letters really stood for Most Things Biodegrade Easier or Money To Be Extracted. In January 1982 the *National Petroleum News* called leaking underground storage tanks "a serious problem now...literally a million time bombs." A 1990 government study reported that of 6 million underground storage tanks in the United States, 2 million were leaking.

The MTBE story is remarkable in its similarity to the history of another gasoline additive—tetraethyl lead [see Kitman, "The Secret History of Lead," March 20, 2000]. Both mark a familiar paradigm in America. An industry introduces a product that promises hefty profits but carries a recognizable potential for harm to people and the environment. Warnings are raised, but government regulators supinely accept industry's claims about the product's salubrity. In time, evidence of the product's harmfulness mounts, buttressed by independent studies. The industry fights a delaying action, contending that the dangers are "not proven," that "more studies are needed." But by then the damage has been done.

In 2002 a California jury found Shell, Texaco, Equilon and Tosco guilty of irresponsibly manufacturing and distributing MTBE, which they knew would contaminate water. The jury also found that both Shell and Lyondell Chemical Company acted with "malice" by neglecting to warn customers of the dangers of MTBE water contamination. Countless suits like this one could be brought against America's biggest oil companies and refiners, and many juries would lay the blame where it belongs. Oil companies would start having to cough up for cleanup. Instead, they are encouraged to hope that by Congressional fiat, they will be able to defy regulation, statute, tradition and every venerable precept of common law—and walk away scot-free. JAMIE LINCOLN KITMAN

Jamie Lincoln Kitman, New York bureau chief for Automobile Magazine, *won an investigative reporting award from Investigative Reporters and Editors for his* Nation *article on leaded gasoline.*

A Present for Murdoch

The Bush Administration will make sure that no Grinch spoils Rupert Murdoch's holiday season. By the New Year, Murdoch's News Corporation will be in control of the country's largest direct-broadcast satellite service, DirecTV. The takeover of this company, with its 11 million subscribers, will greatly increase Murdoch's power over the American TV landscape. It will also mean that conservatives will have an even greater ability to push their agenda. Both the Justice Department and Michael Powell's FCC are on board to rubber-stamp the arrangement, in deference to the Administration's indebtedness to Murdoch. With Fox News a 24/7 commercial for the Bush White House and with the *Weekly Standard*'s constant cheerleading, Murdoch is an especially valuable friend.

This latest deal—which means, as the News Corp. website proudly proclaims, that it rules the skies over "five continents"—should have raised the hackles of Democrats, especially the presidential contenders, who could have pointed to the danger of ever more media consolidation. But sadly, Democratic leaders, unions and progressive advocates have been silent, allowing the merger to sail through the review process. Potential critics could also have seized on issues of corporate governance, supposedly an area of greater concern in the post-Enron era. Murdoch has placed several old cronies on the board of Hughes Electronics, owner of DirecTV, to serve as reputedly "independent" directors. But they are unlikely to challenge any business plan that would harm News Corp.'s interests over the concerns of shareholders or competitors.

Murdoch's political success with this merger didn't depend solely on his ability to have Fox News support the Administration and give Republican politicians airtime. He also worked the old-fashioned way. Murdoch personally met with FCC commissioners several times, as well as with key lawmakers. From 1999 to 2002, his company spent almost $10 million on its lobbying operations. It has already poured $200,000 in contributions into the 2004 election, having donated nearly $1.8 million during the 2000 and 2002 campaigns. The majority of its funds (unlike

Bush's Religious Language

by Juan Stam

George W. Bush began to take part in a Bible study group in 1985, after two decades of binge drinking. For two years he studied the Scriptures and put his heavy drinking behind him. In that same process, he succeeded in refocusing his life, which had been diffused and confused, into a coherent cosmic vision—or ideology—which corresponded to the mentality of the conservative evangelicals of his country.

When Bush decided to run for office, political strategist Karl Rove helped him make the link with the evangelical sector. While other candidates were discussing polemical themes, Rove advised him that it was much better for him to simply speak about his faith. Bush presented himself as "a man with Jesus in his heart." When a reporter asked him who his favorite philosopher was, Bush replied: "Christ, because he changed my heart." That corresponded perfectly to the extreme individualism of fundamentalism, and it constituted what in the metalanguage of evangelical code words is called "personal witness."

Politically, Bush's discourse has been very effective, but theologically the results have been more problematic, as evident in particular in three areas.

Manicheism This ancient heresy divides all of reality in two: Absolute Good and Absolute Evil. The Christian church rejected Manicheism as heretical many centuries ago. But on the day after 9/11, the President first stated the position he would continue to maintain: "This will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil, but good will prevail." Later Bush defined his enemies as the "axis of evil," a term that is theologically and morally loaded.

Given that state of sublime innocence in his own country, like Adam and Eve in paradise, Bush can muster only one explanation for the terrorists' hatred of his nation: "There are people who hate freedom." In other words, they are so evil that they abhor the good *because* it is good. (But if the terrorists hate freedom, why have they not attacked Canada, which in some respects is more democratic than the United States? Why is there not the same hatred for Switzerland, Holland or Costa Rica?)

Messianism When Bush, then Governor of Texas, decided to seek the presidency, he described his decision in terms evangelicals would understand as a divine mandate: He had been "called," a phrase that evoked the prophetic commissions of the Hebrew scriptures. He summoned to the governor's mansion all the leading pastors of the region to carry out a ritual of "laying on of hands," a practice that corresponds above all to ministerial ordination. He told the pastors that he had been called (obviously, by God) to be the presidential candidate. This language of divine calling has been frequent in his declarations and at a much accelerated rhythm since September 11, 2001.

In his State of the Union address the following year, Bush reaffirmed that "history has called America and our allies to action." Soon after the 9/11 attacks, speaking to a joint session of Congress, he proudly declared that "the advance of human freedom—the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time—now depends on us." As he declared in his 2003 State of the Union address, the nation must go forth to "confound the designs of evil men," because "our calling, as a blessed country, is to make the world better." "Once again," Bush announced as war preparation was building up, "this nation and our friends are all that stand between a world at peace and a world of chaos and constant alarm. Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility...and we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country."

Bush does not seem to have much hesitation in identifying God with his own project. In a speech in September 2002, Bush cited a Christological text in reference to his war project: "And the light [America] has shone in the darkness [the enemies of America], and the darkness will not overcome it [America shall conquer its enemies]." When he appeared in a flight suit aboard the aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln, he said to the troops: "And wherever you go, you carry a message of hope—a message that is ancient and ever new. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, 'To the captives, come out! to those who are in darkness, be free!'"

Manipulation of Prayer True prayer does not pretend to tell God what we want Him to do but rather asks that God tell us what He wishes us to do. We do not pray in order to enlist God in our ranks but to examine ourselves, to change and to do God's will. Therefore, the confession of sin and repentance are crucial moments in prayer and worship. Prayer has played a role without precedent in the Bush presidency and in the propaganda of the evangelicals who support him. Photos of Bush at prayer are common. Great publicity was given to the fact that during a prime-time news conference shortly before his speech giving the ultimatum to Saddam Hussein, Bush asked his advisers to leave him alone for ten minutes. In evangelical symbolism, that meant that a man of prayer was going to commune with God, somewhat like Moses on Mount Sinai.

It is remarkable how closely Bush's discourse coincides with that of the false prophets of the Old Testament. While the true prophets proclaimed the sovereignty of Yahweh, the God of justice and love who judges nations and persons, the false prophets served Baal, who could be manipulated by the powerful. Karl Marx concluded that religion is "the opium of the people." But Marx never knew committed Christians like Camilo Torres of Colombia, Oscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador, Frank Pais of Cuba, Ernesto Cardenal of Nicaragua, Dietrich Bonhoeffer of Germany or Martin Luther King Jr. of the United States. How paradoxical, and how sad, that the President of the United States, with his heretical manipulation of religious language, insists on proving Karl Marx right.

Juan Stam, a Costa Rican pastor and theologian, taught at the Latin American Biblical Seminary and the National University of Costa Rica. Translated by Thomas E. Ambrogi. A longer version (available at http://servicioskoinonia.org/logos) appeared in Signos de Vida.

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those of many of its show biz brethren) go to the GOP.

The acquisition of DirecTV makes Murdoch one of the most powerful US media moguls—with a vast "triple play" TV empire in broadcasting, cable and now satellite. News Corp. will be free to create new channels, since Murdoch will have easy access to the immense channel capacity of his new US satellite service. For example, it has already announced that Fox News is considering several spinoffs. In addition, DirecTV service has the capability to beam a channel into a particular city. Hello, Fox News Cleveland, Atlanta and Los Angeles.

Murdoch's power won't be limited much by his new cable competitors, such as Comcast, Time Warner and Cox. While the rationale for the merger is that a News Corp.–led DirecTV will finally give those monopolists a fierce competitor, what is more likely is some form of cable "cosa nostra" deal: You accommodate my new channels, and I will treat yours well. Or else. After all, Murdoch can force such a deal. His Fox is already a major owner of highly successful cable TV programming. Its twenty sports networks alone earn some of the highest fees from cable operators. Moreover, cable knows that the combined power of News Corp.'s twenty-five TV stations and 196 affiliates can effectively force cable operators—as a result of favorable policy made possible because of lobbying by Fox and other broadcasters—to give vast chunks of channel space to Fox.

Meanwhile, Fox alone among the four networks has demanded that its affiliates turn over to it the invaluable new digital airwaves they received in the 1996 Telecommunications Act. (The 600-member association of affiliates—which claims Fox's demand is illegal—has thus far failed to convince the FCC to investigate the charge.) These digital airwaves will enable Fox to further expand the number of channels it can provide to cable.

In addition to controlling more of the programming Americans now receive, thanks to his latest moves, Murdoch plans to quickly adopt new technology designed to make TV more interactive. In Britain, for example, the Sky satellite system (run by Murdoch's son James) features a host of gambling services (e.g., skybetvegas.com), video games and audience polls. Get ready for Fox TV on steroids.

While Murdoch is greatly expanding his media empire, and ultimately the right's media influence, former Vice President Al Gore has been begging, literally, Vivendi/Universal to sell him a single, poorly distributed cable channel. He says he wants to start a new news channel, presumably to counter the slant of Fox. The Gore initiative is an example of why, as the debate on media ownership rules resumes in Congress in the new year, it's time for those concerned about media reform to look to the future. We must secure access to the expanded capacity of TV (now that it is becoming an all-digital platform) for a new generation of programmers, especially those who want to create serious news and cultural channels. But to do so, we must look ahead to where TV and the online world are headed, just as Murdoch has. JEFF CHESTER

Jeff Chester is executive director of the Center for Digital Democracy (www.democraticmedia.org), a Washington, DC–based nonprofit. His book on US media politics, Digital Destiny, *will be published next year by the New Press.*

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Gray's Anatomy

DANNY POSTEL

STRAW DOGS: Thoughts on Humans and Other Animals.
By John Gray.
Granta. 246 pp. $21.95.

AL QAEDA AND WHAT IT MEANS TO BE MODERN.
By John Gray.
New Press. 145 pp. $22.95.

We live, it has been said, in a postideological age. Ideologically confused might be more like it. Either way, there is no question that since the fall of the Berlin wall the ideological sands have been shifting. A good deal of the political map has been reshaped, its intellectual coordinates recombined with results that are by turns welcome and horrifying, but almost always amusing—at least to me.

This post–cold war road is paved with the personal journeys of intellectual and political figures of various stripes, many of whom have crisscrossed one another along the postideological superhighway. Think of Pat Buchanan's metamorphosis from conventional cold war Republican into paleocon populist and full-fledged anti-imperialist; Michael Lind's long, strange trip "up from conservatism" to an idiosyncratic sort of social-democratic nationalism; Joschka Fischer's voyage from revolutionary New Leftism to "realo" pragmatism to humanitarian interventionism; *Harper's* editor Lewis Lapham's drift from a hard-to-pin-down but more or less conservative centrism to a kind of undefined patrician left-liberalism and now militant anti-imperialism. And then, of course, there's Christopher Hitchens, who is still building the road as he travels, but who blends elements of post-Trotskyism, liberal internationalism and what Ian Williams has cleverly labeled "neo-neo-conservatism."

Among the most interesting of the post-ideological pilgrims is the British writer John Gray, a professor of European thought at the London School of Economics. Gray's journey has taken him from championing the Thatcher revolution to becoming one of globalization's most savage critics; from writing *Hayek on Liberty*, a 1984 paean to the Austrian sage of free-market economics, to penning *False Dawn*, a 1998 jeremiad about the "delusions of global capitalism"; from frequenting Washington's right-wing think tanks to frequenting the pages of the *Guardian* and the *New Statesman*.

Straw Dogs represents yet another twist in Gray's journey. He is now a convert to the worldview of "deep" ecology. No longer is it the excesses of the free market or corporate globalization that exercises Gray. He's had it with the human race itself. "The destruction of the natural world is not the result of global capitalism, industrialisation, 'Western civilisation' or any flaw in human institutions." Rather, he explains, it is "a consequence of the evolutionary success of an exceptionally rapacious primate."

No longer is it the excesses of the free market or corporate globalization that exercise John Gray. He's had it with the human race itself.

This will come as altogether welcome news to the captains of industry and the architects of the global economy; the ecological devastation they leave in their wake, according to Gray, has nothing to do with their exploits. And it will come as terribly disheartening news to anyone attempting to curb the more ferocious forms of environmental degradation. Kyoto Protocol—what's the point? Alternative energy—why bother?

Gray has had it not only with humans but with their self-aggrandizing self-image, with the pernicious intellectual scheme that he sees as the animating force behind their ecocidal rampages: humanism. Humanism, for Gray, commits two unforgivable intellectual sins: It claims that humans possess the capacity to shape their own destinies and that humans are above other animals.

This second claim rests on a peculiar distortion of humanism, one Gray compounds by idiosyncratically positing an antagonism between humanism and science. While Darwin "showed that humans are like other animals," humanists, he asserts, "claim they are not." An odd reading of modern intel-

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lectual history, to be sure. The Darwinian revolution was, on the contrary, hailed by humanists from the beginning as one of the high-water marks in humanism's struggle against religious irrationalism and superstition. Yet, in an odd reversal, Gray has turned humanists into enemies of science and evolution. Provided are no explanation, no argument, no reference to any specific humanists—just blanket assertion. This, I'm afraid, is all too characteristic of the method employed in *Straw Dogs*.

Even more consequential for Gray is the matter of shaping our destiny. Indeed, the essential conflict today, he maintains, is being "waged between humanists and the few who understand that humans can no more be masters of their destiny than any other animal." It is paramount for Gray that we junk the voluntarist fantasy of controlling our fate. "Epidemiology and microbiology are better guides to our future," he writes, "than any of our hopes or plans." Gray is referring here to new patterns of disease that promise, in his words, to "trim the human population." From the point of view of Gray's newfound antihumanism, the specter of calamitous epidemics spreading across the planet is nothing alarming. On the contrary, the disappearance of vast numbers of "*homo rapiens*" (his term of endearment for the species) would be a healthy purge of the "plague of people" that has afflicted the overburdened earth, an act of self-equilibrating eco-cleansing.

Gray even rhapsodizes about the potential of new technologies of war as population-reduction devices. The impact of this development "could be considerable," he writes. "It is not only that weapons of mass destruction—notably biological and (soon) genetic weapons—are more fearsome than before." "More," he enthuses, "their impact on the life-support systems of human society is likely to be greater."

Gray takes the "plague of people" language from one of his new gurus, James Lovelock, the author of several books outlining the so-called Gaia hypothesis. As with many neophytes, Gray delved into his new *Weltanschauung* with intoxicated excitement and neglected to examine the quite voluminous critical literature within ecophilosophy. Had he done so, he would have learned that Lovelock's work is almost universally regarded by green thinkers as a joke. Gaia-speak was dropped like a bad habit years ago in ecological circles.

Same for the neo-Malthusian persiflage about overpopulation. These sentiments have been around in the environmental movement for a long time—notably in the monkey-wrenching direct action group Earth First!, whose newsletter ran an article celebrating AIDS as Mother Nature's punishment to humans for their destructiveness (as well as a carrying-capacity correcting mechanism). But those views were just as quickly attacked by others in the ecology movement, most prominently by Murray Bookchin. To his credit, Earth First! founder Dave Foreman engaged Bookchin's criticisms productively and came to repudiate much of the misanthropy in his group's outlook. Their dialogue, in fact, was published in book form in 1991 as *Defending the Earth*, a text Gray would have done well to consult.

It isn't just intellectually shoddy for Gray to trot this stuff out now as if these debates had never taken place—it's downright embarrassing. A better editor would have assigned him a little homework about the intellectual tradition he has come to embrace.

Gray tells fellow Earth-lovers to forget about improving the environment, since the day will come 'when humans have ceased to matter.'

But Gray's proclivity for notions like Gaia and his enthusiasm for apocalyptic scenarios aren't ultimately about arguments or critical reflection—which are, after all, relics of the moribund project of humanism. He's developed a visceral revulsion toward his fellow humans, a profoundly misanthropic impulse that he dresses up in the sonorous language of "biophilia."

The task for Earth-lovers, writes Gray, is not to work toward a more ecologically balanced planet but rather to look forward to a time "when humans have ceased to matter." Given this, there is no reason to dread the prospect of a posthuman future in which technology renders people obsolete. "Thinking of our bodies as natural and of our technologies as artificial gives too much importance to the accident of our origins. If we are replaced by machines, it will be in an evolutionary shift no different from that when bacteria combined to create our earliest ancestors."

I don't think I have to persuade *Nation* readers of the disturbing, and quite possibly disturbed, nature of this vision. Gray has outlined a program for complete political passivity. There is no point whatsoever in our attempting to make the world a less cruel or more livable place. Such matters are beyond our control—and to think otherwise is humanistic hubris. If war becomes even more ruinous, if new diseases kill unfathomable multitudes, if technology renders our bodies immaterial—so be it. The problem is not the unimaginable suffering such developments would cause, but the foolishness of humanists for thinking things could be otherwise.

Gray's long and winding ideological road has thus taken him from free-market fanaticism to "center-left" anticapitalism and now to green antihumanism. This might seem a bizarre trajectory even in a postideological age. But there is, arguably, a method in Gray's madness, a pattern to his restless shifting of intellectual gears. It could have something to do with what his old friend Norman Barry calls Gray's "philosophical promiscuity." Barry, a fellow traveler of Gray's from the Thatcher years, told *Lingua Franca* magazine in 2001 that even in his days as an anarcho-capitalist, Gray "was always flitting from person to person, philosopher to philosopher.... He couldn't form a steady relationship with any thinker."

And even as a devotee of free-market capitalism—what Irving Kristol once called "the least romantic conception of a public order that the human mind has ever conceived"—Gray approached his politics with euphoria. Rather than designing rational-choice models, he composed prose poems to the gods of the market. Those gods, of course, failed him. So, we see, did the gods of the center-left. Might Gray in fact set himself up for perpetual disillusionment by plunging, again and again, into ideological flings?

While Gray has without a doubt traveled a long way to the intellectual terrain he currently occupies, I regard his current position as something of a return to familiar ground. Although he no longer exalts the magic of the free market or the human passions he believed it to unleash, there is something unmistakably conservative, I think, about antihumanism—whether in its religious, Heideggerian, Althusserian, poststructuralist or "biocentric" varieties. The humanist persuasion, at its best, is about possibilities. It is the belief, as Richard Rorty puts it, that "if we can work together, we can make ourselves into whatever we are clever and courageous enough to imagine ourselves becoming." Hostility to that impulse emanates from what I can't help but think of as a conservative place in the psyche, whatever philosophical attire one dresses it in.

In a sense, then, Gray has come full circle. But, in keeping with his intellectual restlessness, he has shuffled his theoretical deck yet again—somewhat. His latest effort, *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern*, while not without problems, is

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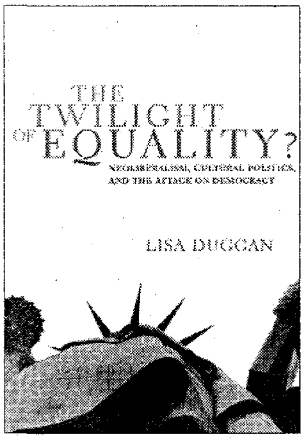
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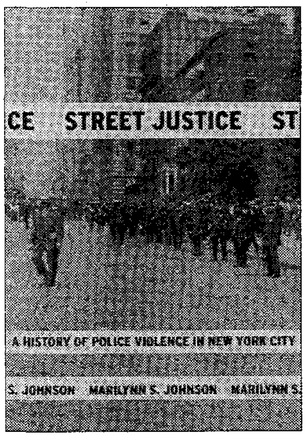

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chock-full of interesting observations and stimulating insights. While Gray presents this short book as something of a conceptual sequel to *Straw Dogs*, the new volume contains arguments that manage to emerge intact from the wreckage left behind by its predecessor.

Gray aims in *Al Qaeda* to disabuse us of the idea that the central drama of contemporary geopolitics is a confrontation between the forces of modern liberal democracy on one side and those of atavistic antimodernism on the other. He spurns the notion that modernization as such is the ticket to emancipation and happiness. Two of the most murderous political experiments in history, Nazism and Stalinism, were profoundly modern, he points out. While modernity saw liberal democracy and pluralism, it also saw the concentration camp and the gulag. Conversely, citing the tolerance practiced "in Buddhist India, in the Ottoman Empire and the Moorish kingdoms of medieval Spain, and in China," he argues that there "is nothing peculiarly liberal, western or modern about the peaceful coexistence of communities having different values and beliefs."

Al Qaeda is also in part a reprise of *False Dawn*. Gray is out to lambaste the fantasies of economic globalizers and liberal universalists alike. "Neo-liberal utopians expected that globalisation would fill the world with liberal republics, linked together in peace and trade." Instead, Gray reports, "history is responding with a flowering of war, tyranny and empire." In case the world needed reminding that the modernist vision of a future shaped by the spread of universal values was dangerously delusional, Gray contends, it got it on September 11—with a vengeance.

Al Qaeda, Gray argues, is a thoroughly modern organism. It is modern "not only in the fact that it uses satellite phones, laptop computers and encrypted websites" but in its predilection for "spectacular encounters in which dissemination of media images is a core strategy." But, one might rejoin, these are purely technical appropriations, not ideological affinities; Al Qaeda makes pragmatic use of modern means but in pursuit of its decidedly antimodern ends. Gray's response is that Al Qaeda's ideology is a "typical modern hybrid," mixing elements of tradition with the Bolshevik concept of the revolutionary vanguard. In the Taliban, he finds resonances not so much with medievalism as with that quintessentially twentieth-century creature, Pol Pot.

But even Al Qaeda's arguably premodern features, Gray argues, enable the organization to operate effectively under the hypermodern complexity of globalization. With its "informal banking systems (hawala) that are global in their reach and whose operations are effectively untraceable," and possessing the "cellular structures of drug cartels and the flattened networks of virtual business corporations," Al Qaeda doesn't resist the forces of globalization—it harnesses them. (A minor quibble: Conspicuously absent from this discussion is any mention of Benjamin Barber's *Jihad vs. McWorld*, a work that effectively prefigured Gray's formulation by nearly a decade. At least a passing reference might have been in order.)

Rejecting the modern/antimodern prism, Gray views the nature of global conflict today in terms of "population growth, shrinking energy supplies and irreversible climate change"; "ethnic and religious enmities and the collapse or corrosion of the state in many parts of the world"; the emergence of "political organizations, irregular militias and fundamentalist networks" made all the more ominous given the dissemination of highly lethal weapons. Taken together, Gray contends, these developments spell almost certain disaster.

Actually, you can drop the "almost." There is a strikingly deterministic and fatalistic streak in Gray. Scattered throughout the book are formulations like: "The population of European Russia will be more than decimated"; "geopolitical upheaval is unavoidable"; "there is nothing to be done about this"; "a consequence of the universal fact of entropy." Sound familiar? The tone of ironclad inevitability is one of the carryovers from *Straw Dogs*. As Adair Turner recently pointed out in the English journal *Prospect*, Gray's rigid determinism is more than a bit ironic given his ruthless critique of positivism for its insistence that the growth of scientific knowledge would inevitably lead to a utopian future—one of Gray's central themes in *Al Qaeda*.

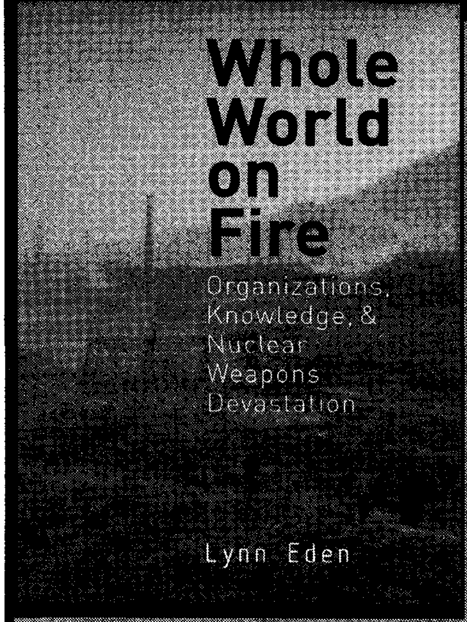
But this tension pales in comparison with a much more fundamental problem in Gray's project. For all of his insights into our geopolitical situation and his monitions about the perilous path we're on, when one reads the two books in tandem, the effect is one of moral numbness. If one follows the argument of *Straw Dogs* (as we can only assume Gray does), what difference does it make whether the human species avoids its collision course with doom? If we should look forward to a time "when humans have ceased to matter," as Gray exhorts us to do in *Straw Dogs*, what's the point of even considering the proposals he offers in *Al Qaeda* for fashioning a less calamitous future? How can the apocalyptic antihumanism of

Straw Dogs be squared with the claim, in the concluding chapter of *Al Qaeda*, that "we need to think afresh about how regimes and ways of life that will always be different can come to coexist in peace"?

As one would expect, the political vision Gray offers in *Al Qaeda* is a complicated postideological jambalaya. (I generally distrust political visions that aren't complicated and, in some sense, postideological.) Having said that, there are several hints of a pre-postideological form of conservatism in the book. He characterizes Robert Kaplan's *Warrior Politics* as "brilliant." "Even intolerable regimes," he remarks, should be tolerated "so long as they posed no danger to others." This superficially unobjectionable-sounding view happens to be rooted in a deeply conservative understanding of state sovereignty and global order—and one in which there's no problem with genocidal tyrants and mass murderers so long as they're only torturing and annihilating their own subjects.

Moreover, Gray's rejection of liberal universalism itself is rooted in an archetypally conservative belief in essential human differences, a right-wing ontology of alterity. The particular expressions of liberal universalism Gray chooses to attack—positivism, free-market neoliberalism—are sufficiently loathsome to make his criticisms sting with ease. But Gray's beef isn't just with them. It's with the very concept of universalism, or cosmopolitanism, or internationalism—ideas that conservatives have abhorred for centuries. Thus when Gray assails liberal modernists for the blindness to fundamental and immutable differences between cultures inherent in their universalizing schemes, it might sound as if he were speaking the anticapitalist language of the global justice movement or the anti-imperialist idiom of the antiwar movement. But that's not where he's coming from at all. He's speaking the language of organicist conservatism—a credo of natural hierarchies and congenital cultural partitions. And pulsating through both books is another defining ingredient of the conservative mind: a profoundly dark, pessimistic view of human nature.

Gray's conservative essentialism is cut from the same cloth as the Huntingtonian belief in the incommensurability of civilizations. "Can we not accept that human beings have divergent and conflicting values, and learn to live with this fact?" Gray bemoans. From this perspective it is a given that the world's civilizations are monolithic, each speaking with a single voice. But they aren't—they're internally contest-



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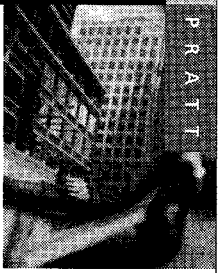

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ed battlegrounds of opposing ideas, interests, classes, visions and possibilities. Think of Iran today, to take just one of myriad examples. It would be impossible to make head or tail of its internal situation in Gray's monochromatic terms.

Gray is right when he argues that the vast majority of the world's societies do not wish to have globalization in the form of American-style corporate neoliberalism visited upon them. But he transposes this into an argument against universalism as such, which it is not. Human rights activists across the planet are waging corresponding struggles. As the Egyptian sociologist and dissident Saad Eddin Ibrahim has noted, when human rights activists from different countries get together and exchange notes, they invariably find that, despite wide geographic, cultural and religious chasms, they share many of the same experiences and speak a remarkably common idiom. It's not an accident that people in the international human rights movement tend to think of themselves, in this sense, as universalists.

Gray has not a word to say about this kind of universalism. Or, for that matter, about solidarity movements around the world that bring people of divergent societies and traditions together in common struggles for economic justice and resistance to domination—many of whom see themselves as acting in the name of universal principles.

Hegel admonished us to enter into the strengths, rather than the weaknesses, of our adversary's arguments—something Gray resoundingly fails to do in these two books; attacking universalism by targeting positivism and neoliberalism is to score cheap points while avoiding more challenging questions.

Although *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern* shows several signs of improvement over *Straw Dogs*, in the end it remains plagued by the underlying impulses that animate Gray's work generally. As far as he has traveled, and as frequently as he has changed lanes, he's still conservative after all these years. ■

A Poet of Multitudes

JAY PARINI

THE POETRY OF PABLO NERUDA. Edited and with an Introduction by Ilan Stavans. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 996 pp. $40.

Pablo Neruda is often compared to Walt Whitman. In fact, the Chilean poet and Nobel Prize winner outdid Whitman in some respects. His poems have been memorized and recited by ordinary people across his vast continent. He is perhaps the most widely translated poet in the world. Even in English, his poems have been translated by numerous hands in scattered editions. The major accomplishment of this new collection, *The Poetry of Pablo Neruda*, is that it brings together a capacious sampling of his work, ranging from the classic *Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair* (1924) to several elegiac volumes published posthumously in 1974. There is also an informative, lively commentary by its editor, Ilan Stavans.

This is not a fully bilingual edition; only a sampling of the poems appear in Spanish. The 1973 *Complete Works* in Spanish amounts to 3,522 pages of poetry, so it would have been impossible to include everything in either English or Spanish. But Stavans has assembled the most complete anthology of Neruda yet available in English, drawing evenhandedly from the various stages of the poet's long and complex career. Neruda was, it seems, at least half a dozen poets, many of them in competition with the others. Needless to say, there are wonders in these pages that will delight readers unfamiliar with the tumultuously varied planet known as Neruda.

Neruda died of cancer in September of 1973, less than two weeks after the tragic overthrow of the Allende government by Augusto Pinochet, the US-supported dictator. Neruda had served Allende and his party in various ways, including as ambassador to France during his last years. The symbolic (and widely reported) ransacking of his houses shortly after his death must remain one of the sadder moments in the violent political chronicle of Chile.

I attended a reading by Neruda in London in the spring of 1972. Hundreds packed the large hall, some of them Chileans who opposed the Allende government. At one point, a man seated in front of me began hurling abuse at the poet, shaking his fist. Cries of *“Silencio!”* came from everywhere in the auditorium, but the man persisted until an elegantly dressed, middle-aged woman with jet-black hair took off one of her shoes and brought the stiletto heel down hard on the man's bald pate. Blood spurted from the wound, and security guards rushed to his aid. He was escorted away as the crowd broke into pandemonium, quarreling among themselves. Suddenly Neruda—like Moses parting the water of the Red Sea—raised a big hand, simultaneously chanting in his deep, mesmerizing voice a section of “The Heights of Macchu Picchu,” one of his most famous poems. The audience fell still as a canyon at night as the poet's voice swelled. It was an astonishing performance by a man whose life was full of such performances.

The obsession with Whitman is a fascinating aspect of Neruda's career. In “Ode to Walt Whitman,” he addresses his cherished predecessor:

> Your voice, that's still singing
> in the suburban stations, on
> the unloading docks at night...
> Your word, that's still splashing
> like dark water...
> And your people, black, white,
> poor & simple, like all people
> still not forgetting
> the tolling of your bell...
>
> They congregate & sing
> beneath the magnitude
> of your spacious life.
> They walk among the people
> with your love. They caress
> the pure development
> of fraternity on earth.

Neruda himself lived a “spacious life.” He was born in Parral, Chile, in 1904. His mother died shortly after his birth, and he was raised by a beloved stepmother and emotionally constrained father who worked for the railways. In an affecting poem, “The Father,” he speaks affectingly of his “poor, hard father,” who became “the axis of existence” for him. With the publication of *Twenty Love Poems*, at 20, Neruda became a national celebrity, and was given a diplomatic post by the government—a recognition of his position in Chilean culture.

From this point on, the poet worked in the diplomatic corps, beginning with a far-flung, unimportant job at the embassy in Burma. He shifted around the Far East for a number of years, attached to embassies in Ceylon, Java and Singapore. During the 1930s, just before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, he served as consul in Barcelona, where he met Federico García

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Jay Parini, a poet and novelist, teaches at Middlebury College. His most recent novel is The Apprentice Lover *(HarperCollins).*

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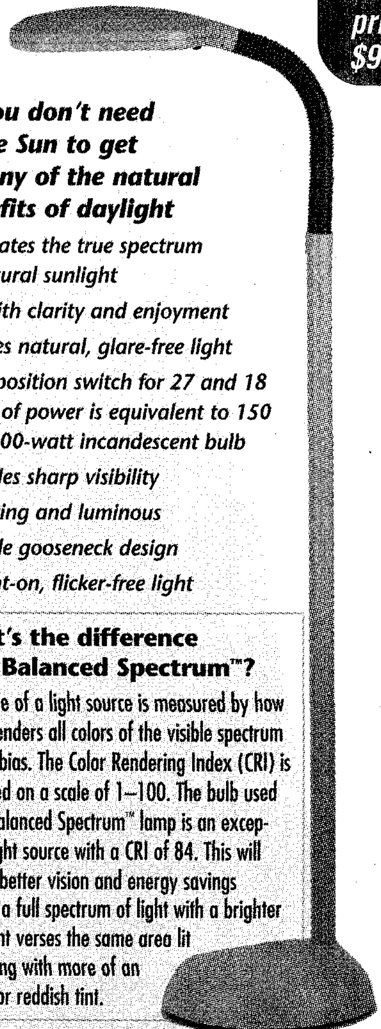

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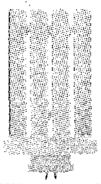

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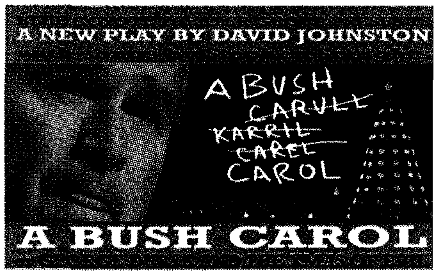

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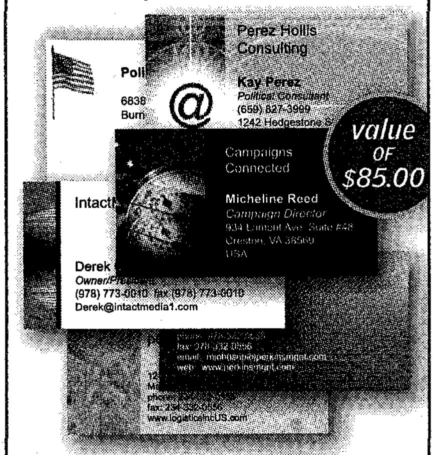

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Lorca, the poet and playwright, who introduced him at a conference in Madrid, saying: "I tell you that you are about to hear an authentic poet, one of those who has tuned his senses to a world which is not ours, and which few people perceive. A poet closer to death than to philosophy, a poet closer to pain than to the intellect, closer to blood than to ink."

Having taken sides against Franco, Neruda moved to Paris for a while, then Mexico City, during which time he joined the Communist Party. In the mid-1940s he returned to Chile, where he was elected to the national senate. But after denouncing the country's right-wing leader, González Videla, he was forced into exile. He led a peripatetic life, in Italy (the film *Il Postino* is based on Neruda's residence there in the early 1950s), France, the Soviet Union and Asia. During this period, his poems were printed in editions of more than a million copies in Russian and Chinese, and his fame grew exponentially. In 1952 he returned to Chile, where he devoted himself to writing and politics. Still a passionate Communist, he campaigned for the presidency of Chile in the late 1960s, eventually throwing his support to Allende.

Twenty Love Poems remains a touchstone in the Spanish language for young lovers, inhabiting a verbal reality beyond the "real" world. One can point to predecessors: José Martí and Rubén Darío among fellow Latino poets, or earlier Spanish poets like Góngora or Quevedo. Yet Neruda sounds like nobody else. The opening poem, for instance, bursts into being:

> Body of woman, white hills, white thighs,
> you look like a world in your posture of surrender.
> My savage peasant body digs through you
> and makes the son leap from the depth of the earth.

I like Martin Espada and Stavans's translation well enough, though I remain attached to the W.S. Merwin version, which is grittier and less abstract, as in the third line, which Merwin renders: "My rough peasant's body digs in you." The line in Spanish runs: *Mi cuerpo de labriego salvaje te socava*, and so the Espada/Stavans version is literally more accurate, but it misses the Nerudian earthiness, which Merwin approximates with "My rough peasant's body." "Savage" seems to mislead the English reader.

Wisely, Stavans falls back on the Merwin translations for the rest of the love poems, as well as the concluding "Song of Despair," with its lovely but anguished incantation: "Oh flesh, my own flesh, woman whom I loved and lost,/I summon you in the moist hour, I raise my song to you." This doesn't quite match the echoing vowels and sensuously enclosing consonants of the Spanish (*Oh carne, carne mía, mujer que amé y perdí,/a ti en esta hora húmeda, evoco y hago canto*), but it passes (barely) for poetry in English. One can intuit the force of the poet's oratory, if not quite the calamitous melancholy of the original. Stavans has sensibly included the Spanish version right after the English translation so that readers can make comparisons. One sees, for example, that the marvelous, accusatory cry to his beloved at the end—*Oh abandonado!*—cannot be translated as "Oh abandoned one" without seeming prosaic, even a little silly.

Having established himself mightily with *Twenty Love Poems*, Neruda began writing the sensuously gloomy and surreal poems of *Residence on Earth* (1933), most of which he composed while traveling as a lonely diplomat in the Far East. Some of his best-known poems, such as "Ars Poetica" and "Ode to Federico García Lorca," were written at this time, and are amply represented here. "Ars Poetica" appears in two different translations, one in the lame verse of Donald Walsh, the other in a better version by Angel Flores. In the Walsh translation, we hear the poet pay tribute to "each invisible water that I drink somnolently." Does that even track? Flores, more plausibly, writes of "each invisible drop of water which I drink sleepily." On the poet's reason for being, however, I much prefer "The Poet's Obligation," published in *Fully Empowered* (1962) and translated by Alastair Reid. This poem is addressed

> To whoever is not listening to the sea
> this Friday morning, to whoever is cooped up
> in house or office, factory or woman
> or street or mine or dry prison cell,
> to him I come, and without speaking or looking
> I arrive and open the door of his prison,
> and a vibration starts up, vague and insistent,
> a long rumble of thunder adds itself
> to the weight of the planet and the foam,
> the groaning rivers of the ocean rise,
> the star vibrates quickly in its corona
> and the sea beats, dies, and goes on beating.

In many ways, the later Neruda—quirky, abundant, unpredictable—teaches us to read the earlier Neruda, with his surreal imagery and occasionally overbearing symbolism, as in the "pure/and cleft rose" invoked in "Spain in Our Heart," which opens into a memorable sequence about the clash of Loyalists against Franco in the 1930s. Though it seems a bit forced in this version by Angel Flores, one can sense the power of "Song to the Mothers of Dead Loyalists," which in its deep sense of commiseration mimics the Whitman of *Drum-Taps*:

> I have not forgotten your misfortunes, I know
> Your sons,
> And if I am proud of their deaths
> I am also proud of their lives.
> Their laughter
> Rang in the deafening factories,
> In subway stations
> Their feet sounded by mine every day, and among
> The oranges of the East, by the fishing nets of the South, in
> The ink of the print shops, upon the cement of buildings
>
> I have seen the flame of their hearts of fire and strength.

Like Whitman, Neruda catalogues the world as he discovers it. That tendency flowered into a method in *Canto General* (1950), the poet's epic work on Latin American history and prehistory. At the center of this ambitious chronicle lies "The Heights of Macchu Picchu," written in 1945, soon after the poet visited the famous Incan ruins in Peru. The wish to represent Everyman pervades the poem: "I come to speak for your dead mouths." In Spanish, the lines goes: *Yo vengo a hablar por vuestra boca muerta*. This can mean that the poet speaks "for" or "through" the dead mouths, interrogating the stones themselves as he strikes "the old flints/to kindle ancient lamps."

The poem describes a mythic journey, incorporating the poet's past and the past of a continent, plunging into the depths of geological and cultural history to conjure a present that teems with lively spirits. Neruda concludes with an address to those, his brothers, for whom he speaks in this poem:

> Look at me from the depths of the earth,
> tiller of fields, weaver, reticent shepherd,
> groom of totemic guanacos,
> mason high on your treacherous scaffolding,
> iceman of Andean tears,
> jeweler with crushed fingers,
> farmer anxious among his seedlings,
> potter wasted among his clays—
> bring to the cup of this new life
> your ancient buried sorrows.

The rhetoric accumulates with incantatory effect, becomes a summoning of the dead, who are invited to "Speak through my speech, and through my blood." Here Stavans includes the Spanish version of the culminating section, so that readers can savor the original, contemplating the English version by Nathaniel Tarn, whose translations are wooden, though accurate.

In many of the poems of *Canto General*, Neruda considers what happened when "Spain drove into the South of the World." The volume includes hymns to great sympathetic spirits, from Bartolomé de las Casas, the friar who recorded the suffering of indigenous people at the time of Columbus, to Tupac Amaru, "wise man, just forefather," a revolutionary ancestor whose name has been appropriated by leftist rebels in Peru. Some of these poems descend into political sloganeering—"Sandino" being the worst in this category, with its derisory invocation of Somoza as "a newly hired traitor" and quasi-sanctification of Sandino, the Nicaraguan political rebel. "Standard Oil Co." offers a potted history of economic imperialism, conjuring American capitalists as "obese emperors/from New York" who become "smiling assassins/who buy silk, nylon, cigars,/petty tyrants and dictators." While true enough as political commentary, the poetry wilts in the dogmatic, overheated phrasing.

In *The Captain's Verses* (1952), Neruda temporarily lost his bearings. These self-indulgent poems to a new lover seem lazily composed, even foolish. So with some relief one turns to the astringent atmosphere of *Elemental Odes*, published in three volumes in the mid-1950s. Neruda loved the ode, which became his most characteristic form. Musing on this work, he said he "decided to deal with things from their beginnings, starting with the primary state, from birth onward." Thus he writes odes to the artichoke, to the atom, to criticism, to laziness, to the earth, to his suit, to sadness, or to wine. Here we begin to see Neruda as the man of appetite, a world-devouring creature who loves his food and drink, who thinks of the dining room table as paradise. He writes to wine as if it were a woman:

> My love, suddenly
> your hip
> is the curve of the wineglass
> filled to the brim,
> your breast is the cluster,
> your hair the light of alcohol
> your nipples, the grapes
> your navel pure seal
> stamped on your belly of a barrel,
> and your love the cascade
> of unquenchable wine,
> the brightness that falls on my senses
> the earthen splendor of life.

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During the same period, Neruda composed *Extravagaria* (1958), calling it his "most personal book." He had just settled, after years of wandering, in Isla Negra—a village on the Pacific, where he had purchased an old sea captain's house in 1939—and the poems reflect the poet's newly awakened sense of place, his constant rediscovery of Chile, of the natural world itself. By turns wistful and celebratory, the poems inhabit a private landscape, as much internal as external. Alastair Reid's translation appeared in 1972, and has remained a touchstone for readers of Neruda, with its idiosyncratic, benign, sad, generous vision. One feels close to the poet in these poems, as in "Pastoral":

> I copy out mountains, rivers, clouds.
> I take my pen from my pocket. I note down
> a bird in its rising
> or a spider in its little silkworks.
> Nothing else crosses my mind. I am air,
> clear air, where the wheat is waving,
> where a bird's flight moves me, the uncertain
> fall of a leaf, the globular
> eye of a fish unmoving in the lake,
> the statues sailing in the clouds,
> the intricate variations of the rain.

Poetry being what usually gets lost in translation, a first-rate translator must be a genuine poet as well, or at least have the technical skills of one. In this poem, as throughout *Extravagaria*, Reid has managed a small miracle, allowing Neruda's gift to shimmer in poems such as "Horses," "We Are Many" and "I Ask for Silence," which Stavans also includes in a fairly literal version by Betty Ferber as well as in Reid's version. A marvelous line like *Vuela la luz con sus abejas* in Ferber becomes "Light flies with its bees." That is accurate but dull. Reid actually improves upon the Spanish, writing: "The light is a swarm of bees." Reader, take your pick.

The end of the 1950s and the early 1960s were years of furious, uneven production for Neruda. He liked to set himself a task, as he did with *One Hundred Love Sonnets* (1959), which are by turns dreadful and brilliant, with aspects of both occasionally residing in the same fourteen lines. Because *Twenty Love Poems* was so charged with erotic and youthful energy, the verse itself carried the frequent metaphorical shifts, the clashing symbols, the unlikely imagery. It's a little harder to absorb the sonnets, which are frequently shapeless, effusive and cliché-ridden. The third sonnet, for example, leaps from metaphor to metaphor, with love as a violet, a "crown/of thorns," a "corolla of rage." It becomes a "tender fire" in the second stanza, but by the end of the poem has transmuted into a "sword" that slashes "a seared road through my heart." Hold on, Pablo.

As a faithful Communist, Neruda never abandoned political poetry for long, and *Song of Protest* (1960) surges with polemical poems in praise of Castro and "young communists of the day." The poet's political engine by this time was running on fumes, however. Except for the appealing "Caribbean Birds," with its witty celebration of this "airborne jewelry of the foliage," these late political slogans in the guise of verse do no justice to the poet. Stavans might well have cut the love sonnets and the protest poems down to a handful of lyrics, perhaps sweeping aside as well many of the *Ceremonial Songs* (1961), which seem mechanical.

The exquisite poems of *Fully Empowered* (1962) also date from this period, as does *Isla Negra: A Notebook* (1964). A sense of spoken intimacy pervades this work, which forms a kind of emotional autobiography. Isla Negra became the fulcrum of the world for him, a point of balance. From there, he recalls the past, feeling its presence in the day-to-day life registered in these flinty, imagistic poems. His mesmerizing voice rises and falls with the tide, the tone shifting from whimsical to vatic. The sea dominates these books, a point of daily reference, a symbol of a mysterious truth that seems perpetually at hand:

> I ceaselessly must listen to and keep
> the sea's lamenting in my consciousness,
> I must feel the crash of the hard water
> and gather it up in a perpetual cup
> so that, wherever those in prison may be,
> wherever they suffer the sentence of the autumn,
> I may be present with an errant wave,
> I may move in and out of windows,
> and hearing me, eyes may lift themselves,
> asking "How can I reach the sea?"

Neruda continued writing to the end, always leading his readers from the prison of their self-consciousness into an open place beside the sea, into the green freedom of the water itself, its rhythmic sway and exhilarating depths. He offered "freedom and the sea" to all who would listen. In its comprehensive amplitude, *The Poetry of Pablo Neruda* will doubtless attract many new readers to the poetry and surprise those who thought they knew it well. ■

Occupational Hazards

OMER BARTOV

HITLER'S SCIENTISTS: Science, War, and the Devil's Pact.
By John Cornwell. Viking. 535 pp. $29.95.

One of the greatest paradoxes of the modern era is the relationship between science and rationalism. Whether it was the Age of Rationalism that ushered in the great scientific revolution or vice versa, there is clearly a powerful link between the manner in which most of us view the world today and the enormous strides made by the natural scientists both in theoretical explanations of reality and in applications of these theories to everyday life.

But the great hope of the nineteenth century—that the Age of Improvement would catapult the world, led by clear-minded scientists and progressive, rational politicians, to a utopia of physical and spiritual well-being—met with cruel and brutal disillusionment in the first part of the twentieth century. Moreover, it was precisely those scientists who had been the banner-carriers of such hopes who ended up serving the cause of destruction, whether in the name of accelerating change to inhuman velocities or in the service of turning the wheel back to a mythical, idyllic past. Simultaneously, other scientists engaged in producing the instruments that ultimately destroyed the totalitarian regimes armed and legitimized by their erstwhile colleagues.

Yet rather than serving as an example of the ultimate good to which science can be put, the collective scientific mind that had thwarted the onslaught of Nazism and its collection of "wonder weapons" discovered to its horror that it had produced true weapons of mass destruction. And, as has always been the case, once made available,

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Omer Bartov, the John P. Birkelund Distinguished Professor of European History at Brown University, is the author, most recently, of Germany's War and the Holocaust: Disputed Histories *(Cornell).*

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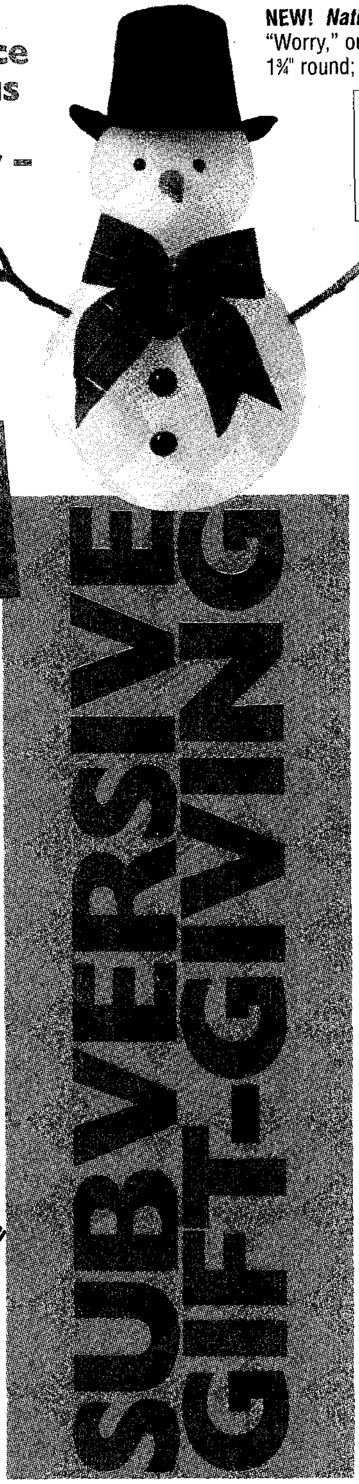
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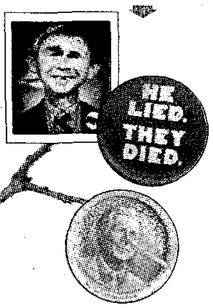
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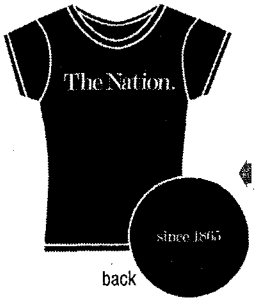
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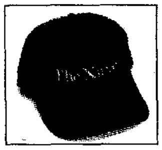

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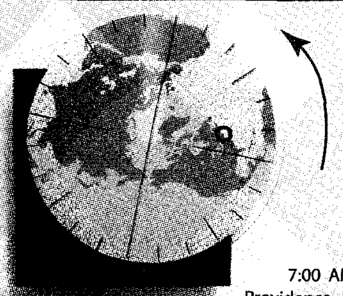

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the tools that were capable of annihilating the entire universe were employed. Looking at this development from the vantage point of the early twenty-first century, after the end of the cold war and the emergence of international terrorism on a hitherto unimaginable scale, we can say that weapons of mass destruction can indeed end up in the hands of those who are the sworn enemies of everything that is modern, rational and scientific.

John Cornwell examines the conundrum of the relationship between scientific discovery and the progress of humanity by focusing on the history of German science, whose extraordinary accomplishments ended up serving the single most destructive regime the world has known. The main outlines of this tale are known, and Cornwell relies on previous monographs in a synthetic work whose goal is not to reveal new documents about this or that event, discovery or individual but to provide a general survey and pose a crucial question. His book is a useful, clearly written and intelligent survey, much as we would expect from the author of *Hitler's Pope*, a devastating exposé of Pope Pius XII's collaboration with the Nazis. Considering the complexity of the material, which ranges from gas warfare in World War I to nuclear research and rocket engineering in World War II and beyond, this is no mean achievement. There are some slips: The Soviet tank was the T-34, not T-4, which refers to the code of the Nazi "euthanasia" campaign; the German Army of World War I was the Kaiserheer, not the Wehrmacht; the German Field Marshal was Gerd von Rundstedt, not Karl von Rundstet, and so forth. But these are minor blemishes in a well-told story that charts the evolution of scientific involvement in war from the production of increasingly lethal conventional weapons to its culmination in the atom bomb and the ballistic missile, a combination of technologies that replaced the very notion of waging a world war by soldiers with the concept of mutually assured destruction perpetrated by allegedly apolitical technicians.

Yet the main focus of *Hitler's Scientists* lies elsewhere. Cornwell is concerned especially with the relationship between the scientist as an individual and the political-ideological goals he or she serves. The options with which scientists are presented seem to be reasonably straightforward. They can try to isolate their work from all social, political and cultural influence and implications, and claim to be immersed in pure science with no concern for its potential use or abuse. They can, at the other extreme, mobilize themselves entirely in the service of a certain politics or ideology. Or they can try to maintain a degree of integrity while opportunistically going along with the powers that be in the name of preserving science, protecting their field from real incompetence and abuse, or simply furthering their own careers.

Cornwell evaluates these options first by comparing the responses of pro-Nazi scientists and German scientists who tried to insulate themselves from politics by taking refuge in "pure" science. Second, he compares the conduct of the German scientific community as a whole with that of scientists who worked for Germany's opponents. On the face of it, it would appear that this comparison would yield clear-cut answers to the question of how scientists ought to conduct themselves under extreme circumstances. Yet Cornwell reaches a far more troubling conclusion. Thus, for instance, such truly mobilized physicists as Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark had a mainly negative influence on their discipline in Germany by chasing out all the Jews and critics of the Nazi regime and creating a so-called German science that rejected all the most important insights of modern physics as Jewish fabrications. This led to a severe weakening of science in Germany and greatly assisted the physics community in Britain and the United States. Conversely, those who held the happy notion that pure science could and should be pursued in a political and moral vacuum found themselves compromised in ways that made them insist all the more on occupying the moral high ground while in fact displaying the crudest, most pitiful kind of opportunism, seeking honors from a criminal regime and recognition from a disgraced scientific community, while asserting ignorance of crimes facilitated by their own actions.

By the end of World War II it was no secret that Hitler's regime had both legitimized its existence and pursued its policies of extermination with the enthusiastic help of Germany's best scientists. But the postwar discourse on the complicity of scientists with evil preferred to highlight the individual criminal scientist, such as Josef Mengele and his horrific "medical experiments," or to label German/Nazi science as an insane exception that proved the rule, namely, that modern science as a whole was a rational undertaking aimed at improving the lot of humanity in the name of justice, morality and democracy. German scientists, in other words, were just a few bad apples made worse by a nasty regime: Some were monsters, others were opportunists who signed a pact with the devil, still others simply deluded themselves into believing that they could go into scientific "inner immigration." But the case of Nazi Germany, it seemed, did not teach us much about the nature of modern science as a whole. Indeed, since evil was conquered with the help of "good" scientists working for the democracies, science as a whole could claim to have triumphed over evil rather than to have been its obedient servant.

Cornwell does not accept this comforting narrative either. In this he is exercised not only by the case of Germany but also by contemporary fears about the role of science in modern society, ranging from genetic research to weapons of mass destruction, from the potential implications of cloning to the phenomenon of international terrorism. To be sure, Cornwell is aware that "good" science can also take place in "bad" regimes. Thus he points out, following Robert Proctor's research, both the Nazi health campaign, which included a war on tobacco consumption and alcoholism, and the technological feats of German military production. But he also acknowledges that the "war" on smoking and drinking was a dismal failure, and that German production of war machines was strategically disastrous, thanks to misplaced priorities and the administrative chaos that characterized the regime. One would have liked to see more emphasis on the irony of improving the health of the "Aryans" while sowing death on an unprecedented scale throughout Europe, and more attention to the links between the Wehrmacht's military technicians and its role in the Reich's "war of destruction." But this is not the direction taken in *Hitler's Scientists*.

Rather, Cornwell chooses to make his case by focusing primarily on Werner Heisenberg, who headed German nuclear research under Hitler, as well as on Wernher von Braun, who developed the V-1 and V-2 rockets, which rained on Britain in the latter parts of the war. Heisenberg has been the focus of recent debates over the links between science and morality. In his play *Copenhagen* Michael Frayn suggested that the conflicting versions of what transpired at the famous meeting in September 1941 between Heisenberg and the Danish-Jewish physicist Niels Bohr—in which they are nevertheless known to have discussed the possibility of a German atom bomb—exemplify the "uncertainty principle," attributed by Heisenberg to Bohr's revolutionary quantum theory. In other words, Frayn believes that we will never know for sure whether Heisenberg failed to produce the bomb due to incompetence or lack of will. Conversely, Thomas Powers argued in *Heisenberg's War* that the German scientist wanted to warn the Allies about the potential of a German bomb and later intentionally delayed its production. Thus Heisenberg appears as a kind of hero.

Cornwell makes a convincing case against such interpretations, while also not accepting the view of Heisenberg as a committed Nazi. He presents the brilliant physicist as a nationalist, a patriot and an opportunist who enjoyed the powers given him by the regime and the honors it generously bestowed on him. The reason Heisenberg and his team did not produce the bomb, however, was simply that they were incapable of doing so, as revealed in the transcripts of the conversations between these men when they were interned by the British at Farm Hall, especially their shock when they heard about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Similarly, Cornwell describes von Braun as a fellow traveler who showed no scruples about using slave labor to produce his rockets or about the mass killing of civilians with these weapons.

But the important point made here is not that such men as Heisenberg and von Braun were neither complete villains nor, in any innocent sense of the word, "pure" scientists. Rather, Cornwell insists that the men and women who were on the other side of the front were also compromised in their far more successful efforts to produce the bomb, and that following the war the lethal combination of the American bomb and the German ballistic missile made for the emergence of a balance of fear between two superpowers capable of destroying the entire world. Cornwell does not dispute that fears of a German bomb justified the race to produce it by Britain and the United States, although by the last year of the war indications were that Germany would never be able to produce it in time. But he shows that the complicity of scientists in producing weapons of mass destruction is anything but an affair limited to the Third Reich, and thus makes a powerful case for the recognition by scientists of their own moral and political obligations.

Opportunism is, of course, as old as humanity itself. But the consequences of scientific research in the modern world can be on such a scale that no scientist may be allowed to escape—as many still do today—to the myth of pure science conducted in a political vacuum. The great merit of Cornwell's book is therefore to point out the individual responsibility of scientists for the use that may be made by governments of their work. The physicist Joseph Rotblat, who resigned in 1945 from the Manhattan Project, which eventually produced the bomb, argued that scientists are "human

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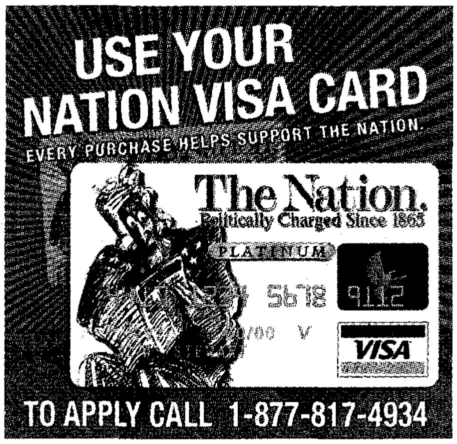
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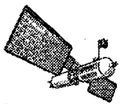

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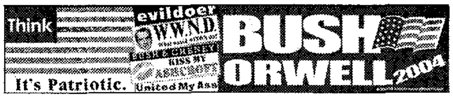

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FIELD DIRECTOR, FAMILIES USA, the national healthcare consumer-advocacy organization, seeks a person with significant experience to direct its national and state healthcare issue campaigns. Candidates should also have experience with managing grassroots advocacy and e-advocacy. Candidates must have managed and directed a department in an advocacy organization. Candidates must have significant issue campaign experience. Electoral campaign experience is helpful. The position is based in Washington, DC, with moderate travel required. Salary based on experience. Excellent fringe benefits. People of color are encouraged to apply. No phone calls please. Interested candidates should send résumé to Field Director Search, Families USA, 1334 G St. NW, 3rd floor, Washington, DC 20005; e-mail rwise@familiesusa.org. EOE/AA.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: The Innocence Project, Inc., seeks an Executive Director to build and manage its operations at a critical stage in its growth. Founded in 1992 by Prof. Barry Scheck and Peter Neufeld as a clinic at Cardozo Law School, the Project represents prisoners for whom postconviction DNA testing can prove innocence and advocates for reform of the justice system. In the coming months, the Project will retain its affiliation with the University while becoming an autonomous 501(c)(3), and seeks a talented and experienced ED to manage its daily operations and strategic development. The ED will work with the Projects founders and staff to build on its success in exonerating the innocent and to transform that success into viable and effective programs for systemic reform. Candidates must have substantial experience in nonprofit management and advocacy; designing and implementing public policy programs, especially at the local level; and fundraising, particularly from foundations. Additional information about the Project is at www.innocenceproject.org; detailed job announcement at www.idealist.org. Applications accepted on rolling basis, with hiring at earliest possible date. Send résumé, letter and 3 references to hr@innocenceproject.org.

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THE HIGHLANDER CENTER, a historic social and economic justice organization in East Tennessee, seeks an Executive Director. See www.highlandercenter.org for full information.

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PSYCHOLOGIST/EXPERIENCED. Free consultation. Margaret Kinder, PhD, (212) 582-5508.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

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COSTA RICAN TROPICAL OASIS for vacation rentals and lots near San Jose, Costa Rica. See www.crgetaway.com or call (800) 234-9331.

SCHOOLS

THE KINDERLAND SHULE is a secular Jewish, progressive school for children 6–12, integrating history, literature, Yiddish, arts and social justice. The Kinderland Shule meets Sundays in downtown Brooklyn. For further information: (718) 643-0771, kindercamp@aol.com.

TRAVEL/TOURS

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation*, page 51, www.globalexchange.org.

INSIGHT CUBA—EXPERIENCE CUBA THROUGH ITS PEOPLE. See ad in *The Nation* page 50, www.insightcuba.org.

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WWW.GRASSROOTSHOST.COM.

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Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

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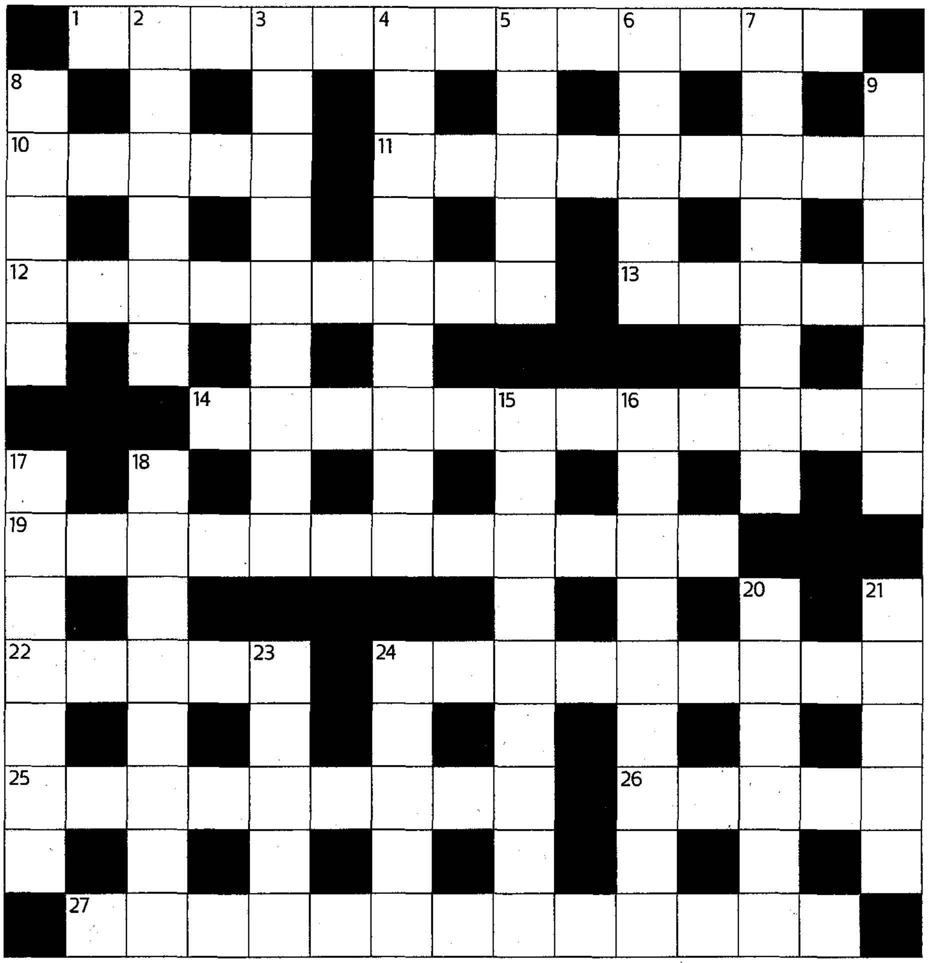
Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department,
33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

PUZZLE NO. 2920

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Noting things down, such as what those who don't return their borrowed discs might be charged with. (6,7)

10 Proving I do it wrong, being rather stupid! (5)

11 Those who profess to being prepared on the water? (There are seven, famously, with 100 exits.) (3,6)

12 Inconsistent with the common order, making a "nom" a lousy definition, almost. (9)

13 His cow looks like it has a fierce face! (5)

14 Doubly impolite way to indicate a position—especially if it's a race definition… (5,2,5)

19 …covering this, though it's not a close call! (4,8)

22 A bridge player doesn't like to, as a way to harass. (5)

24 How timid waders go, and keep laden this way? (5,4)

25 How to explain the difficult clue I fix in time? (9)

26 The salesman says the car had only one, and imply something like a little old lady who went out only on Sunday. (5)

27 Comment made to Watson, which with a high following might indicate a fairly large rabbit. (3,5,5)

DOWN

2 One who was responsible for countless discoveries noised about this way. (6)

3 and **23** A "deluxe" tag might be so attached, if a person is so knowledgeable. (2,2,1,4,5)

4 In Iowa you will find some sort eats around the edges of it. (3,6)

5 See 8

6 Proving the peculiar scope of a Texas town. (5)

7 Calling it a functional disorder is no sure way of getting out of it! (8)

8 and **5** What you might have to pass on the way out of ivy halls. (5,5)

9 I get relatively behind time if you cut me off so! (7)

15 Shakespeare said having such a child is sharper than a serpent's tooth. (9)

16 When you find yourself out of touch with your base, you might get this—like burs have to be. (6,3)

17 Don't cry this way! Inuits like it! (7)

18 Seeing as it's the answer, is it out unlike little? No, quite the opposite! (8)

20 The way the British bent over to find nothing but a crude place to stay! (4-2)

21 Obviously not the result of a strike! (The drive might be foolhardy without one.) (5)

23 See 3

24 This might serve as a wake-up call—or a weapon of Mr. Gore! (5)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2919

S	T	O	R	M	I	N	A	■	T	E	A	C	U	P
T	■	C	■	I	■	E	■	A	■	R	■	L	■	O
A	G	E	N	D	U	M	■	G	L	A	M	O	U	R
B	■	A	■	S	■	E	■	H	■	T	■	S	■	T
B	A	N	T	U	■	S	O	A	P	O	P	E	R	A
I	■	■	■	M	■	I	■	S	■	■	■	C	■	L
N	E	H	U	M	■	S	A	T	U	R	D	A	Y	■
G	■	A	■	E	■	■	■	■	■	E	■	L	■	T
■	O	V	E	R	T	A	K	E	■	F	O	L	I	O
I	■	E	■	■	■	F	■	A	■	U	■	■	■	P
S	T	R	A	N	G	L	E	R	■	R	A	T	I	O
L	■	S	■	I	■	A	■	T	■	B	■	O	■	R
A	M	A	L	G	A	M	■	H	A	I	R	N	E	T
N	■	C	■	H	■	E	■	L	■	S	■	I	■	A
D	A	K	O	T	A	■	M	Y	T	H	I	C	A	L

Restful Sleep Technology

Get in the zone with the mattress topper that molds to your body's contours

The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is cut into a grid pattern combining six different zones for variable support and a better night's sleep.

The 2-inch thick temperature-smart foam adjusts to your shape.

Superior sleep products designed to help you
sleep better.
CARPENTER
We bring comfort to your life.

It's 3 a.m. You have exactly two hours until you have to get up for work, and you still can't seem to fall asleep. At this point, the phrase "tossing and turning" begins to take on a whole new meaning for people whose mattresses simply aren't giving proper support anymore. Your mattress may dictate your quality of sleep. Even if you merely suspect that your mattress may be outdated, that's when you need to take action. Some mattresses fail to support your spine properly, which can result in increased pressure on certain parts of your body. Other mattresses, sporting certain degrees of visco-elastic foam, can sometimes cost you well over $1000. Now, one of the world's leading manufacturers of foam products has developed an incredibly affordable mattress topper that can actually change the way you sleep. Introducing the future of a better night's sleep: The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper.

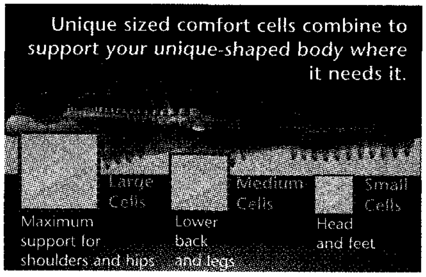
Wake up to a better morning. The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is designed to give you a better sleep surface. Not only does it support each region of your body, but it's also temperature sensitive. With its various-sized "comfort cells," the 2-inch thick Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper combines six zones to support specific body area weight, which promotes a better night's sleep. The largest cells support your lower back and midsection, while the medium-sized cells support the shoulders, lower back and legs. The smallest cells support your head and feet. Combined, these zones provide variable support from head to toe. By using visco-elastic foam, the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper also molds to your body contours to help prevent tossing and turning during the night. When you lie down on this amazing material, the heat and pressure sensitive foam reacts to your body's weight and temperature, so that it molds to your exact body shape. This means that whether you sleep on your back, stomach or side, your weight is evenly distributed and your spine remains in a neutral position. Other surfaces support your body at the shoulders, hips and legs only. This causes your spine to sag in other areas, which can often result in discomfort, and even back pain. You'll wake up rested, relaxed and ready to take on the day. Anyone who suffers from insomnia and back pain can benefit from this technology.

What could be wrong with your present bed?

Traditional Bed
No Support

Water Bed
Hammocking

The ideal position is a neutral body posture in which the different parts of the human body are supported individually and evenly. This is the secret behind Memory Foam Ultra, the mattress topper that turns any bed into the ideal sleep surface.



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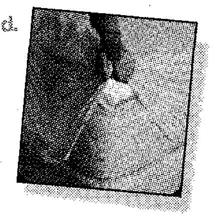

y it for yourself today! The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper can change the way you sleep. Promote proper spine positioning, while enjoying relief from insomnia and back pain with this full-body support. It comes with a 5-year manufacturer's limited warranty and TechnoScout's exclusive in-home trial. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it within 30 days for the full purchase price, less shipping and handling.

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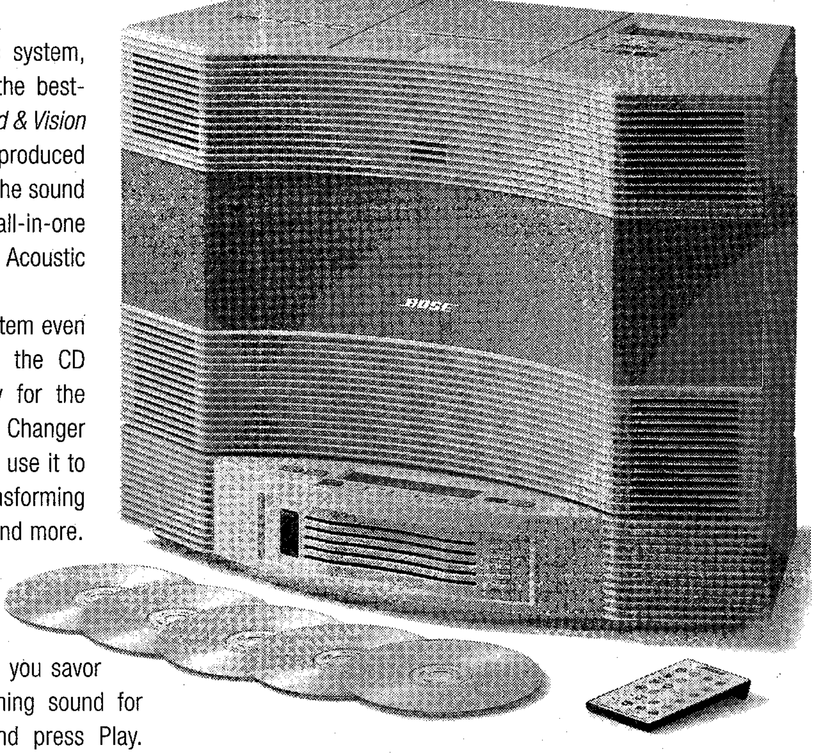
INTRODUCING OUR NEW 5-CD CHANGER FOR THE ACOUSTIC WAVE® MUSIC SYSTEM.



When we introduced the Acoustic Wave® music system, audio critic Wayne Thompson called it "simply the best-sounding compact stereo system in captivity." *Sound & Vision* reported that it delivers "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard." By offering the sound of a big, complicated stereo system – but from an all-in-one music system hardly the size of a briefcase – the Acoustic Wave® music system set a new industry standard.

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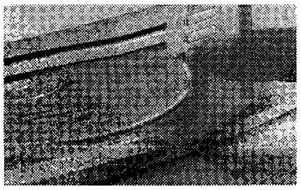
LIFELIKE SOUND – WITHOUT INTERRUPTION.

New from Bose, this separate 5-CD Changer lets you savor the Acoustic Wave® music system's award-winning sound for hours on end. Load your five favorite CDs and press Play. You'll hear your music come to life with crystal-clear highs and deep, enveloping lows that fill the room.



Patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology is what allows the Acoustic Wave® music system to deliver such a spacious, lifelike performance. And our new 5-CD Changer lets you enjoy that room-filling sound without ever having to stop the music to change CDs.

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